A STUDY OF THE GREEK PRIESTESS

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Berea College (Kentucky)

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INTRODUCTION

Writers upon the subject of religious antiquities have long recognized that, according to Greek custom, gods were usually served by priests while goddesses were attended by priestesses. The statement of Fairbanks is as complete as any: "The choice of a priest must conform to conditions which differed with each shrine. Ordinarily the gods were served by men and the goddesses by women, but the opposite was not rare, as at Tegea where a boy was priest of Athena, and at Thespiae where the priestess of Heracles was a young woman."[1] Schömann's words are to the same effect: "Einige Priesterthümer wurden von Männern, andere von Frauen bekleidet, und bei manchen Tempeln gab es Priester und Priesterinnen neben einander. Ohne Zweifel beruhten die Bestimmungen hierüber auf bestimmten Gründen, die wir aber nachzuweisen nicht im Stande sind. Wenn sich auch annehmen lässt, dass in der Regel das Priesterthum der männlichen Gottheiten von Männern, das der weiblichen von Weibern bekleidet worden sei, so litt doch diese Regel manche Ausnahme."[2] Stengel says the same: "In vielen Heiligtümern bekleidete eine Frau das Priesterthum, an andern gab es Priester und Priesterinnen neben einander. Nicht selten wurde das Priesterthum eines Gottes von einer Frau und umgekehrt einer Göttin von einem Mann verwaltet."[3] Adrian, in a treatise upon Greek priestesses, barely touches upon the point.[4]

Farnell has several times considered the subject. In discussing the impress which the matriarchal system left upon ancient religion, he briefly touches upon the priestesses of male and female divinities,[5] and also upon the male ministrants of female divinities,[6] illustrating each case by a few examples. He then says: "But in the Greek and Roman religions, the rule generally held, though with many exceptions, that the god desired the priest, the goddess the priestess."[7] Elsewhere he has

[1] *Handbook of Greek Religion*, p. 78.

[2] Schömann-Lipsius, *Griech. Alterth.*[4], II, p. 440.

[3] *Griech. Kultusalt.*, p. 34, § 18.

[4] *Die Priesterinnen der Griechen.*

[5] "Sociological Hypotheses concerning the Position of Women in Ancient Religion," *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII (1904), pp. 73–74.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

frequently made the same generalization.[1] Farnell has also suggested in a cursory way some possible explanations of the exceptions to the rule.[2]

The purpose of this treatise is to consider more fully the custom of having resemblance in sex between divinity and priesthood, and to show by detailed evidence to what extent such a custom prevailed among the Greeks and upon what underlying principles it was based.

[1] *Cults of the Greek States*, I, p. 320: "As a rule, the Greek goddess was served by priestesses and worshipped with the sacrifice of female victims; but in the ritual of Athena, as of Aphrodite, we find not infrequently the male victim and the priest." *Ibid.*, IV, p. 33 (speaking of the priestess of Poseidon at Thebes): "Certainly this is a singular exception to the usual rule of Greek ritual that a male deity should be served by a male ministrant." Cf. *ibid.*, IV, p. 223.

[2] *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII (1904), p. 81.

CHAPTER I

PATRIARCHAL WORSHIP

Worship in ancient Greece was sometimes conducted by the father on behalf of his household, by the king for his people, and by the magistrate for the state. When father, king, or magistrate performed this sacred duty, he sacrificed to any divinity, whether god or goddess, as occasion demanded. On the other hand, worship was very often conducted by a priestly minister who was connected with a temple and was chosen for the service of a particular divinity.

The Homeric account of the sacrifice performed by Nestor portrays clearly the patriarchal custom of sacrifice by the father. On the day after the arrival of Telemachus, Nestor and his family offered a sacrifice to Athena.[1] The sons were bidden by their father to make the necessary preparations. When this had been done, Nestor washed his hands and after praying earnestly, cast the forelock of the victim into the fire. One of his sons, who stood near, then struck the victim, while the women of the family raised their voices in a cry. When the sons had finished the slaughter, the aged hero burned the parts assigned to the gods and poured a libation. Then the youths cooked the remainder of the victim and all shared in the feast.

Such a sacrifice was similar in form to that performed by the priest and his temple assistants,[2] but in the present instance all was done by members of the family. Nestor, like the priest, performed the essential offices, the prayer, the consecration of the victim, and the burning of certain parts, while the women merely raised a cry at the time of the slaughter. It is worthy of notice (1) that the patriarch Nestor performed sacrifice to Athena without a priest or a priestess, (2) that the women of Nestor's household were not needed except for a very minor service.

Likewise Odysseus sacrificed to the Nymphs at Ithaca,[3] Alcinous to Zeus,[4] and Peleus to Zeus.[5] Penelope, in the absence of her lord, went to the upper chamber to pray, taking a basket of barley groats.[6] This is the one passage in Homer in which a woman is represented as

[1] *Od.* III, 418 ff.

[2] Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*, pp. 97–103.

[3] *Od.* XIII, 349 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, 24 f.

[5] *Il.* XI, 772 ff.

[6] *Od.* IV, 759 ff.

taking an active part in the household sacrifice, which is here very simple and private, and conducted in the absence of Odysseus.

In Homeric days, as the father sacrificed for his family, so did the king for his people, whether to god or to goddess. While Agamemnon sacrificed and prayed to Zeus,[1] he was eager also to offer hecatombs to appease Athena.[2] Oeneus failed to sacrifice to Artemis in his great offering, thus incurring the anger of the goddess.[3] Yet there were both priests and priestesses in those days, for example, Theano, priestess of Athena,[4] Chryses, priest of Apollo,[5] Onetor, of Zeus,[6] Dolopion, of Scamandrus,[7] and Dares of Hephaestus.[8]

Later evidence corroborates these inferences from Homer. Aristotle says that the kings were leaders in war, decided cases at law, and had charge of those sacrifices which were not in the hands of priests.[9] The chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* regarded the king as ruler over the altar of the land.[10] Agamemnon performed sacrifice to Artemis,[11] and Pelias sacrificed to Poseidon and other divinities, accidentally overlooking Hera.[12] On the other hand, while Agamemnon was absent, Clytaemnestra sacrificed upon the altars of the city after the beacon signal had announced the fall of Troy.[13] The custom still remained in Sparta during historic days, for the king sacrificed to god and to goddess alike, to Athena[14] or to the Muses,[15] as the situation required.

But the patriarchal lord not only sacrificed freely to any divinity, but also sometimes assumed the charge of a particular cult. This might be the cult of a god or of a goddess. As Anius was *rex hominum Phoebique sacerdos*,[16] so Cinyras was king and priest of Aphrodite.[17] The descendants of Codrus controlled the cult of Demeter at Ephesus,[18] and the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros at Thebes had once been the house of Cadmus and his descendants.[19] At the death of Pandion, his sons divided the paternal estate. Erechtheus took the kingship, while

[1] *Il.* II, 402 ff.; VII, 314 ff.
[2] *Od.* III, 143 ff.
[3] *Il.* IX, 536.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI, 298 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 11, 370.
[6] *Ibid.*, XVI, 604 f.
[7] *Ibid.*, V, 77 f.
[8] *Ibid.*, V, 9 f.
[9] *Pol.* 1285*b*, ll. 9–11, 22–23.
[10] *Suppl.* 372.
[11] Aesch. *Ag.* 201 f., 224 ff.; Eurip. *Iph. Aul.* 673, 1110 ff.
[12] Apoll. Rhod. I, 13 f.
[13] Aesch. *Ag.* 262, 596 ff.
[14] Xen. *De Repub. Lac.* 13, 2.
[15] Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 21; *Inst. Lac.* 16.
[16] Verg. *Aen.* III, 80.
[17] Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 24 ff. and schol.
[18] Strabo XIV, 1, 3 (633).
[19] Paus. IX. 16, 5.

Butes took the priesthood of Athena and of Poseidon.[1] A part of the palace at Cnossus was devoted to sacred purposes. Evans says that there was probably a sacerdotal as well as a royal side to the Minoan dynasts of Cnossus: "It would seem that there were here, as in early Anatolia, Priest-kings; and the old tradition that made Minos son and 'Companion' of Zeus, ... is once more seen to have a basis in fact."[2] The divinity worshiped was a goddess.[3] In historic days the same custom was practiced by Xenophon, who bought a piece of ground and erected a shrine after the pattern of that in Ephesus. Year after year he sacrificed to Artemis at this shrine.[4] Hiero of Syracuse was a hereditary priest of Demeter and Kore.[5] It is evident, then, that when the great lord acted also as priest, he might attend a god or a goddess. His *patria potestas* predominated over any sex distinctions.

As the power of the kings declined, they were sometimes left only the right to preside over public sacrifice.[6] This sacred office finally devolved upon civil magistrates, who often retained the old royal title.[7] Such was the Athenian ἄρχων βασιλεύς[8] who, as the name indicates, was a magistrate who kept some of the functions of the ancient king. He was attached to no shrine, but had general charge of religious affairs, his duties being largely administrative and judicial.[9] He performed all ancestral sacrifices, however,[10] and his wife, as queen (εἰκότως βασίλιννα οὖσα), carried out certain sacred mysteries.[11] In the ceremony of the sacred marriage she acted, not as a priestess, but as the hereditary queen of the city. The *archon basileus* and the *basilinna* executed their holy offices because of a quasi-royal authority, not because of any other special qualification. There is no evidence whatever that the *archon basileus* attended the gods, while the *basilinna* served the goddesses of the state, but rather that the husband and the wife each performed different offices for the same divinities.

But the *archon basileus* was not the only magistrate who sacrificed for Athens. The prytanes[12] sacrificed now to Magna Mater[13] and now

[1] Apollod. *Bibl.* III, 196.
[2] *BSA*, IX, p. 38.
[3] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 37.
[4] Xen. *Anab.* V, 3, 7 ff.
[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6, 158; cf. Hdt. VII, 153–54.
[6] Aristot. *Pol.* 1285*b*, ll. 9–11, 16–17.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1322*b*, ll. 29 ff.
[8] Aristot. *Const.* 3, 57; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 63.
[9] Aristot. *Const.* 57.
[10] *Ibid.*, Plato. *Pol.* 290*e*; Lysias 6, 4.
[11] Demosth. 59, 74 ff.
[12] See Frazer, *Jour. of Philol.*, XIV, 147 ff
[13] Theophr. VII, ll. 39 f.

to Artemis Boulaia.[1] So the polemarch sacrificed to Artemis Agrotera and Enyalios.[2] At Cos, in the great tribal sacrifice at which the priest of Zeus and the ἱεροποιοί assisted, the γερεαφόρος βασιλέων performed the sacrifice to Hestia on behalf of the community.[3] So at Ilium the prytanes joined with the priestess and the ἱερονόμοι in prayer to Athena.[4]

From this brief review it is fair to conclude that those persons who sacrificed by reason of some form of patriarchal authority, performed sacrifice both to gods and to goddesses. It was left for temple-worship to develop the distinction that a woman should have charge of the cult of a goddess.

[1] *IG*, II, 1, 392, ll. 14 ff.

[2] Aristot. *Const.* 58; Pollux VIII, 91.

[3] Paton-Hicks, 37, ll. 20–21.

[4] Michel, 525, ll. 20–21, 28–29.

CHAPTER II

SEX RESEMBLANCE IN DIVINITY AND MINISTRANT

In temple-worship, since the sacrifice was offered, not by the father, nor by the king, but by a special minister who was chiefly devoted to the service of the divinity, an excellent opportunity was afforded for peculiar customs and fine distinctions to grow up. The customs differed somewhat in various localities, inasmuch as they were not controlled by any common ecclesiastical leader or synod. Yet there were certain general practices which sprang from a common attitude of the Greeks in matters of cult. For example, the temple of a goddess was very often in charge of a priestess. The number of exceptions, however, shows that this was not a fixed rule. There were other influences at work which caused frequent deviation from such a principle.

In the Appendix, a record may be found of priests and priestesses, classified according to the divinity whom each served. It is not claimed that this account is complete, but they were all that could be found in the material available to the writer. Furthermore, while many questionable cases have been included in the lists for the sake of reference, they have been carefully bracketed, and none have been counted in the sum total but those supported by sound evidence. As editors have supplied the word priestess rather than priest in many inscriptions simply because of the general idea that a priestess ordinarily served a goddess, great care has been taken to exclude all such cases from the total, even though the restoration might seem reasonable. Again, in no case has a priestess been included in the list unless the name or at least the sex of the divinity, and the exact location of the cult have been determined with reasonable certainty.

The lists comprise only attendants of the first rank such as the *ἱερεῖς* and the *ἱέρειαι*, whose duty was sacrifice and prayer.[1] Besides these, there were various subordinate attendants, e.g., *ὑφιέρειαι*, *νεωκόροι*, *ζάκοροι*, *ἱεροθύται*, *κανηφόροι*, and *λουτροφόροι*, who do not concern this discussion, because they were devoted to a special service in the temple, as the name of each indicates. The nature of that service to a great extent must have determined of what sex the attendant should be. Men were most suitable for treasurers and butchers, while women natu-

[1] Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*, p. 31, § 15.

rally were the basket-bearers and the weavers of a cult. An exception has been made in regard to some cults of Asia Minor. Often a man and his wife or daughter held the priesthood jointly, the priest being in charge of the general service of the god, while his female associate performed some elaborate and important liturgy from which she derived her title. In such cases, each being noted in its place, the woman was not a young helper but an adult priestess with special functions. The reasonableness of making such an exception is assured by the fact that sometimes such a special priestess was also a high-priestess under the Roman imperial system.[1]

From the fragmentary record in the Appendix, at least some idea can be gained of the relative number of priestesses and priests in the service of god and goddess: 171 cases are recorded in which the cult of a goddess was in charge of a priestess, 177 cases in which it was served by a priest, and 31 cases in which a priest and a priestess were in attendance. On the other hand, 28 cases are found in which the worship of a god was in charge of a priestess, and 20 cases in which it was conducted by a priest and a priestess. Those cults which were attended by a priest and a priestess comprise two classes, (1) those in which a man and a woman served simultaneously, as at Eleusis, (2) those in which they may or may not have served at the same time, as in the cult of Artemis Patriotis in Helos. But such cases do not affect the ratio of priestesses to priests and therefore all cults in which there was a priest and a priestess have been entirely excluded from the tables at the end of the Appendix.

Furthermore, those cults of σύμβωμοι θεοί (marked by an asterisk in the Appendix) in which the sex of the attendant was the same as that of the most important divinity in the cult, might well be excluded from the sum total. When two or more divinities were worshiped at one shrine there was occasionally an attendant for each of the gods, as at Didyma, where there was a male προφήτης for Apollo and a female κανηφόρος for Artemis.[2] Sometimes, especially in Asia Minor, there was a sacerdotal pair neither of whom was limited to the service of either the god or the goddess exclusively, as in the cult of Zeus and Hera at Panamara.[3] But as a rule, the two deities were really σύμβωμοι θεοί with a common priesthood which might be held by a man or a woman, according to the sex of the most prominent deity of the group.

[1] As at Aphrodisias, *CIG*, II, 2822.

[2] *Rev. d. Philol.*, XXIII (1899), p. 314, No. 31; p. 315, No. 32; p. 319, No. 36; *Ber. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1904, p. 87, Nos. 1–2.

[3] *BCH*, XXVIII (1904), pp. 238 ff., Nos. 42 ff.

Two divinities worshiped together were rarely of equal importance. The formal cult name used in inscriptions generally gave precedence to the name of the leading divinity, as one might expect. The importance of the first named is seen also in the fact that the priest of the σύμβωμοι θεοί was often designated simply as a priest of the first named of the group. So the priest of Asclepius and Hygieia in Athens[1] and in Tenos[2] was sometimes called the priest of Asclepius, and the priest of Apollo Erethimios and Artemis in Camirus was called the priest of Apollo.[3]

The Lindian cult of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus corroborates this hypothesis in a curious way, although the priesthood was held by a man, contrary to what might be expected. In this cult, in which Athena was the leading divinity,[4] the priest was often called simply the priest of Athena[5] and the goddess was always named first of the divine pair.[6]

Each of the following cults of σύμβωμοι θεοί was attended by a priest:

Ares Enyalios, Enyo, and Zeus Geleon: Athens.[7]

Apollo and Artemis: Camirus,[8] Erythrae,[9] Hyampolis,[10] Mylasa.[11]

Apollo and the Azesian goddesses: Epidaurus.[12]

Asclepius and Hygieia: Athens,[13] Gythium,[14] Haleis,[15] Melos,[16] Piraeus,[17] Rhodiopolis,[18] Stratonicea,[19] Tenos.[20]

Poseidon and Amphitrite: Syros,[21] Tenos.[22]

[1] *IG*, II, 1, 373*b*; III, 1, 287.

[2] *Musée Belge*, XI (1907), pp. 15 f., No. 30, ll. 7–9, 16, 32–34, 42; VII (1904), pp. 89 f., No. 21, ll. 12–16.

[3] *IG*, XII, 1, 730; cf. *ibid.*, 732, 786.

[4] Hdt. II, 182; Diod. Sic. V, 58; cf. P-W, II, 1979, ll. 50 ff.

[5] *IG*. XII, 1, 761, ll. 48–49; 762, B, l. 2; cf. *ibid.*, 778.

[6] *Ibid.*, 768 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, III, 1, 2, l. 5.

[8] *Ibid.*, XII, 1, 786, l. 8; cf. *ibid.*, 732.

[9] *SIG*², 600, ll. 19 ff.

[10] *IG*, IX, 1, 87, ll. 11–18.

[11] *CIG*, II, 2694, (*a*) ll. 12, 14, (*b*) l. 2.

[12] Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 46, No. 51.

[13] *IG*, III, 1, 102*a*, 102*b*; II, 1, 373*b*, 489*b*, l. 9.

[14] *CIG*, I, 1392.

[15] Paton-Hicks, 345, ll. 14–16.

[16] *IG*, XII, 3, 1085.

[17] *IG*, II, 3, 1504.

[18] *IGRR*, III, 732–33.

[19] *BCH*, XII (1888), pp. 87 f., No. 11, l. 9.

[20] *Musée Belge*, XI (1907), pp. 15 f., No. 30, ll. 7–9, 16, 32–33, 42; VIII (1904), pp. 89 f., No. 21, ll. 12–16.

[21] *IG*, XII, 5, 672.

[22] *Ibid.*, XII, 5, 925; cf. *ibid.*, 948.

Zeus and Athena: Athens (2),[1] Delos (3),[2] Erythrae (2).[3]
Zeus and Hera: Gortyn,[4] Mylasa,[5] Pontoreia.[6]
Zeus, Hera, and Athena: Aegaeae.[7]
Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon: Aegiale.[8]
Zeus and Dione: Termessus.[9]
Zeus, Helios, and Selene: Gythium.[10]
Zeus and Tyche: Mylasa,[11] Pogla.[12]
Each of the following cults was attended by a priestess:
Cybele and Apollo: Nicaea.[13]
Demeter and Dionysus: Larisa.[14]
Demeter, Kore, and Despotes: Larisa.[15]
Hera and Zeus: Pergamum.[16]

In each of these cases, the sex of the attendant agreed with that of the first named and most important deity of the group.

To be sure, there were a few instances which did not show such agreement, among the most important of which were the Rhodian cults.[17] These were doubtless influenced by the strong cult of Athena and Zeus at Lindus. The priesthood of the great Lindian cult was probably affected by the influence of Asia Minor[18] and by close connection with the civic life of the community. In the cult of Zeus, Hera, and Athena at Kalynören,[19] of Zeus and Hera at Olbasa,[20] and of Demeter and Sabazios at Aghlan,[21] there may well have been both a priest and a priestess, although time has left a record of but one member of the pair. The incompleteness of the evidence must always be kept in mind in a study of this kind.

[1] (*a*) *Ibid.*, II, 1, 305, ll. 11–13, 325–26; (*b*) *ibid.*, III, 1, 272, 683.

[2] (*a*) *BCH*, XXXII (1908), p. 438, ll. 10–11; *Rev. Arch.*, XXVI (1873), p. 111, No. 15; p. 113, No. 22; (*b*) *BCH*, XXXII (1908), p. 438, ll. 12–13; (*c*) *ibid.*, ll. 12, 14.

[3] (*a*) *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 26 ff.; (*b*) *ibid.*, ll. 68 ff., 115 ff.

[4] *SGDI*, III, 2, 5145.

[5] *Ath. Mitt.*, XV (1890), p. 268, ll. 5–6.

[6] *IG*, XII, 1, 786, ll. 10 f.

[7] *IGRR*, III, 925.

[8] *IG*, XII, 7, 438.

[9] *CIG*, III, 4366*m*.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 1392.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 2693*e*, l. 2.

[12] *IGRR*, III, 407.

[13] *Rev. Arch.*, XII (1865), pp. 215 f., *B*.

[14] *IG*, IX, 2, 573.

[15] *Eph. Arch.*, 1910, p. 377, No. 24.

[16] *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII (1908), p. 402, No. 28.

[17] Camirus, Ialysus, Rhodes, and probably Phaselis.

[18] *Vide*, pp. 17 f.

[19] Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 157, No. 264.

[20] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, p. 309, No. 122.

[21] Sterrett, *Papers of the Am. School at Athens*, II, pp. 37 f., No. 37.

Because these exceptions were so few in number and so readily accounted for, it seems fair to say that in the cults of *σύμβωμοι θεοί* the sex of the priestly minister followed that of the leading deity of the cult. These thirty-six cases, then, really support the principle in question, like god, like priest.

A number of cases have been excluded from the sum total because the word *ἱερεύς* was used with an uncertain meaning. Sometimes *ὁ ἱερεύς* was simply the opposite of *ἡ ἱέρεια*, i.e., he was the male minister at the head of the cult. Sometimes, however, the word was used in a general sense meaning "the one who held the priesthood," whether man or woman,[1] and sometimes denoted any person connected with the shrine, even though a subordinate.[2]

The proportion of priests found in the goddess-cults of Cos is large. But this is not surprising in view of the local use of the word *ἱερεύς*. There remain several long and formal lists of prescribed sacrifices for various gods and goddesses, to be performed at different times of the year.[3] The form of these sacrificial calendars of Cos evidently followed a fixed type, giving in regular order the date, the name of the divinity, the kind of victim, and then the phrase *θύει ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει*. Sometimes the phrase was added *γέρη λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς σκέλη καὶ δέρματα*. *Ὁ ἱερεύς* in this case very likely meant nothing more than "the one who holds the priesthood," like "John Doe" in English legal phraseology. Unfortunately no inscription has been saved from the wreck of time which records a priestess for any of the goddess-cults mentioned in the sacrificial calendars. But the persistency of the formal phrase makes reasonable the idea that the cults of Demeter,[4] of Rhea,[5] and of Hera,[6] may each have been served by a priestess in spite of the use of the word *ἱερεύς* in connection with them.

Similar in character is the explanation for the numerous priests of goddesses belonging to Erythrae. An inscription is preserved which records the sale of a large number of priesthoods.[7] It gives the name of the divinity, the purchase price, the *bonus*, and the names of the purchaser and the security for each priesthood sold, e.g., Αἴδε (*ἱερητείαι* is understood) [*ἐπράθη*]*σαν ἐφ' ἱεροποιοῦ Ἐπιγόνου· Δήμητρος ἐγ Κ*[*ολωναῖ*]*ς ΧΗΗΗ, ἐπώνιον· ΔΔ, Τρέφων Σίμου, ἐγγυη*[*τὴς*]*Ζῆνις Φιλίσκου*.[8]

[1] E.g., Paus. I, 22, 3; Strabo VIII, 3, 25 (350).

[2] Athen. XIV, 655*c*; Plut. *Vit. Them.* 10.

[3] Paton-Hicks, 37–40.

[4] *Ibid.*, 37, ll. 60 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, 38, ll. 3 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, 38, ll. 5 ff.

[7] *SIG*[2], 600.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, ll. 63 ff.

The purchaser in each case was a man.[1] This does not mean necessarily that a man was actually to perform the duties of the priesthood which he bought, as a similar inscription from Halicarnassus shows.[2] In the latter case provision was made, in case a man bought the priesthood, that he must furnish a priestess who fulfilled certain requirements which were enumerated in full. If a woman bought the priesthood, however, she must herself serve.

These eighteen cults of Erythrae may have been served by priests or by priestesses. The inscription, although it names men as buyers, does not tell anything about who really performed the duties at the shrine.

Numbers, in telling but half the truth, sometimes come close to falsehood. The proportion of priestesses to priests in the goddess-cults varies greatly, according as the divinities are considered separately or in groups. While there are recorded 125 priestesses and 83 priests in the cults of the four great Hellenic goddesses considered as a group (Athena, Hera, Demeter, Artemis), there are recorded but 22 priestesses to 36 priests in the cults of Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods. The change in ratio is still more striking if one considers those female divinities which represented ideas not fully embodied in forms which possessed distinctive personality. Here one finds 5 priestesses and 34 priests. In this division are included (1) those divine figures which embodied an abstract idea, (2) those groups of goddesses in which the idea represented by the group as a whole predominated over the individuality of any member of the group.

The divinities representing abstract ideas usually bore feminine names.[3] This was due to the tendency of language to adopt the feminine form for the abstract,[4] and not to anything especially feminine in the nature or the function of the deity. To be sure, the feminine name reacted upon the divinity and stamped it as feminine, but the name was not able to create a great personal figure like Athena or Demeter. Contrast the priesthood of the divinities who were feminine mainly in name (5 priestesses and 34 priests), with the priesthood of a goddess like Eileithyia, who was feminine in function (5 priestesses and 1 priest).

The groups of goddesses such as the Charites and the Muses also show a smaller number of priestesses (6) than of priests (10). In these

[1] A certain woman, Nosso, with the consent of her *κύριος*, bought the priesthood of the Dioscuri for her minor son, *loc cit.*, ll. 121 ff.

[2] *SIG*[2], 601.

[3] Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 371–72, 375.

[4] Curtius, *Grundzüge d. griech. Etymol.*, pp. 641, 644.

cases the group was the unit of worship, and the personality of the individual goddess was subordinate to the idea embodied in the group as a whole. The presence of a priestess in such a cult was due to the fact that the composite personality of the group developed a distinctly feminine character.

In the early days of Greece, when a great lord held a local cult under his patronage, he sometimes made his wife or his daughter priestess in case the divinity was female, as in the cult of Hera at Argos[1] and of Demeter at Eleusis.[2] Occasionally, however, he kept the priesthood for himself, as did Cinyras who was priest of the cult of Aphrodite at Paphos.[3] Many of those who were priests by hereditary right could trace their office back to such a beginning. At Pellene the priests of Artemis held office by reason of their high birth.[4] King Hiero was the hereditary hierophant of the Syracusan cult of Demeter.[5] Even when shorn of their temporal power, the old lords retained a vestige of their former rank in the form of sacerdotal dignity. The best illustrations of this survival are to be found in certain cults in which there were both a priest and a priestess. In some such cases there is evidence that the priest represented the patriarchal claim upon the shrine, while the priestess was the regular attendant of the goddess.

The priesthood of Demeter at Eleusis was shaped by the interaction of patriarchal patronage and independent growth. Among the attendants of first rank the hierophant and the priestess of Demeter were most important.[6] To be sure the hierophantids were hieronymous,[7] like the hierophant.[8] By that fact as well as by their resemblance in title they showed their connection with him. But apparently they had to be satisfied with that degree of distinction. It was the priestess of Demeter and the hierophant who performed the sacrifice.[9] It was the priestess who had a house of her own by the shrine.[10]

[1] Plut. *Frag.* X; Müller, *FGH*, IV, pp. 633–34 and footnote.

[2] Paus. I, 38, 3; Suidas *s.v.* Εὔμολπος.

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 24 ff.; Tac. *Hist.* II, 3. [4] Paus. VII, 27, 3.

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6, 158; cf. Hdt. VII, 153–54.

[6] *Vide* Foucart, *Les Grands Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 24–45, 67–71; Martha, *Les Sacerdoces Athéniens*, pp. 156–59.

[7] *CIG*, I, 434. For meaning of the term cf. Lucian *Lexiph.* 10; Martha, *Les Sacerdoces Athéniens*, p. 156, § 71.

[8] *CIG*, I, 190, l. 33, note p. 325; Lucian *Lexiph.* 10.

[8] *BCH*, XIII (1889), p. 435, ll. 56–58.

[10] *IG*, II, 5, 834*b*, col. 1, p. 50; *Eph. Arch.*, 1883, pp. 113–14, l. 74; pp. 125–26, γ, l. 9.

It was also she who held the official title, priestess (ἱέρεια) of the cult, while the other names, *dadouchos*, *hieroceryx*, *hierophant*, and *hierophantid* referred to a special service, viz., performance of the mystic rites. The Eleusinian cult had been diverted from the usual simple type to an abnormal form in which extraordinary stress was laid upon the great mysteries. The hierophant and his associates showed by their names that their place was in the mystic rites. But the ἱέρεια, who belonged in the normal cult, had not been crowded out.

Moreover, like the priestess of Athena Polias upon the Acropolis of Athens,[1] the Eleusinian priestess of Demeter was eponymous.[2] This peculiar mark of distinction was attached, not to the unusual attendants such as the great hierophant and the hierophantids, but to the regular priestess.

An Attic hydria bears witness in a curious way to the distinction of her position.[3] The vase painter, who took his theme from Eleusinian tradition, did not fail to depict the richly dressed *dadouchos* in close connection with the story which was delineated. But calmly seated above the scene of action, the priestess in ordinary costume was added, holding her great temple key like the priestess of any shrine.[4]

Even her part in the mystic rites was significant, for she was one of the two leading figures. In the very heart of the ceremony, when the mystic union, the sacred marriage, was performed, she it was who took the woman's part.[5] She embodied in her person the character of the fruitful Earth-mother.

If the final proof of her close relation to the goddess be sought, consider that in the Haloa, an agrarian festival which was separate from the great mysteries,[6] the priestess performed the rites herself, even to the exclusion of the hierophant.[7] Herein doubtless lies the secret of her

[1] *Vide AJA*, III (1899), p. 382, and footnote 5.

[2] E.g., *IG*, III, 1, 232, 828, 895; *Eph. Arch.* 1894, pp. 206–7, No. 30*b*; 1895, p. 102, No. 15; 1897, p. 52, No. 24; *BCH*, XIX (1895), p. 113.

[3] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, Plate XXI*b*.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 256 f.: "And the art language is more than usually simple and articulate, proclaiming . . . . that if one wished for more esoteric information, he might apply to the priestess with the key."

[5] Tertull. *Ad. Nat.* II, 7 (595*c*); Aster. *Encom. Mart.*, p. 113 *B* (quoted from Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 551, footnote 2); cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 176 ff.; Harrison, *Proleg.*, pp. 549 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], II, pp. 138–40.

[6] *Eph. Arch.* 1883, pp. 119 f., l. 47; 1890, pp. 127 f., l. 7; Schol. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* VII, 4; Harpocr. *s.v.* Ἁλῶα.

[7] Demosth. 59, 116; Schol. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* VII, 4.

persistency in the cult. The hierophant, however great his worldly rank because he was at the head of the mysteries, could never have the real vegetative efficiency which had become traditionally embodied in her because of her sex.[1] Doubtless she became priestess because she was a woman. In spite of the changes which time wrought, she continued to hold her place in the cult because her position as ἱέρεια of the cult was respected by natural religious conservatism.

But how did the hierophant come to be in the cult at all? Pausanias relates that when Eumolpus was overcome by the Athenian Erechtheus, the Eleusinians became one people with the Athenians except that the vanquished retained their charge over the sacred mysteries, and the priestesses, who were daughters of Celeus, kept their holy office.[2] But what was Eumolpus' part? If the hierophant and some of his colleagues were Eumolpids,[3] then Eumolpus was the first hierophant, of course.[4] That was the usual deduction of Greek genealogy. In other words, the head of the great family did not entirely give over the cult to the priestesses but he retained an important share for himself. His part in the mysteries was that which might naturally be taken by the lord of the land in the sacred marriage, just as the wife of the king-archon of Athens became the bride of Dionysus on behalf of the city.[5]

In some of the other cults attended by a priest and a priestess, there were signs of a similar blending of family- and temple-worship. The elaborate *régime* of the cult of Demeter and her associates at Andania seems to have emphasized the position of the priest, e.g., he decided certain cases concerning the violation of cult regulations[6] and had charge of the apportionment of gifts made to the shrine.[7] Even Mnasistratus, the ex-priest, was a person of importance.[8] But the priestess walked side by side with the priest[9] and with him received her share in the sacred feast.[10] The women of the cult, the ἱέρεια and her associates, the ἱεραί, evidently performed the mimetic rites of the cult, as a provision was made with reference to the clothing of the women who acted the parts.[11] It is noteworthy that the mimetic rites, a survival of early vegetation magic, were in charge of the priestess.

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], II, pp. 97–170; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 111–12.

[2] I, 38, 2–3.

[3] Schol. Aeschin. 3, 18.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐμολπίδαι.

[5] Aristot. *Const.* 3.

[6] *SIG*[2], 653, ll. 82 f.

[7] *Ibid.*, l. 89.

[8] *Ibid.*, ll. 28, 85 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, ll. 28–29.

[10] *Ibid.*, ll. 96–97.

[11] *Ibid.*, l. 24.

In the Laconian cult of the Leucippides, which had both maiden priestesses[1] and a priest,[2] the maidens were called Leucippides like the goddesses whom they served. At the shrine of Artemis Hymnia in Orchomenus, where there was a priest and a priestess in Pausanias' time, there had once been a virgin priestess in charge.[3]

Asia Minor also furnishes interesting evidence upon this point. Strabo says that the son of Codrus, king of Athens, was the founder of Ephesus, and his descendents, who were still called kings even after their power had declined, retained charge of certain rites, among which were those of Eleusinian Demeter.[4] There is also an inscription which refers to a priest of the cult of the Demetriasts, the *mystae* of Demeter.[5] But a more explicit inscription says that the mysteries and sacrifices were conducted by the mystae together with the priestesses, according to the usual custom.[6]

The most interesting passages referring to the priestesses of Ephesian Artemis must be disregarded here because they savor too much of literary imagination, too little of actual cult practice.[7] There is better evidence as to the priest. The Megabyzos, whom Xenophon calls the *neokoros*, the "temple-warden,"[8] was the manager of the shrine. It was with him that Xenophon left his treasure, and from him that he received it back.[9] The *Essenes* were the yearly priests who acted as entertainers (ἱστιάτορες)[10] and probably directed the festivals. The fondness of late writers for portraying the virgin priestess in close relation with the goddess[11] probably had its origin in the special functions of the priestess.

The neighboring shrine of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia offers better evidence concerning the priestess. In one inscription priest and priestess were mentioned together by the usual titles ἱερεύς and ἱέρεια. They and their divinity were to be guests at the great public sacrifice of Zeus.[12] But in a second inscription, which gave directions for the annual ceremony at which the *xoanon* of Artemis was transferred to the Parthenon, no mention was made of the ἱερεύς but only of the νεωκόρος and the ἱέρεια, who were to direct the ceremonies.[13] This *neo-*

[1] Paus. III, 16. 1.
[2] *BSA*, XII, p. 356.
[3] Paus. VIII, 5, 11 f.; 13, 1, 5.
[4] XIV, 1, 3 (633).
[5] *SGDI*, III, 2, 5605.
[6] *SIG*², 655.
[7] *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 48 ff.; Xen. *Eph.* I, 2.
[8] Xen. *Anab.* V, 3, 6.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Paus. VIII, 13, 1; cf. Callim, *Hymn to Zeus*, 66; Hesych, *s.v.* Εσσήν.
[11] *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 48 ff.; Xen. *Eph.* I, 2.
[12] *SIG*², 553, ll. 14 ff., 22, 32 ff., 48 f.
[13] *Ibid.*, 552, ll. 21 ff.

koros may have been the priest mentioned in the former inscription, or a separate custodian of the shrine. Xenophon's use of the word[1] shows that it meant "major-domo." If this Magnesian *neokoros* was the same person as the priest, the very name shows the difference between the functions of the priest and the priestess. If he was not the priest of the first inscription, the absence of the ἱερεύς from this important ceremony in which the priestess and the women took so active a part, and the presence of a mere helper, is also proof that the priestess performed rites which revealed her as the attendant who was in closest relation to the goddess.

In the interior of Asia Minor, there were many powerful priest-kings, who lived in great *hiera* thronged with *hierodules*. The priestess of the great *hieron* is seldom mentioned. In southwestern Asia Minor, however, the Anatolian *hieron* took on a modified form which was much more like a Greek shrine in its personnel. In Greece, a priest sometimes performed extraordinary functions in a goddess cult side by side with the regular priestess, as at Eleusis. In these cults of southwestern Asia Minor the order was reversed. The priest was assisted by a woman who performed a special liturgy. In the cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, there was a priest,[2] and also an *anthephoros* who was the high priestess and the wife of the high priest.[3] At the shrine of Artemis Cindyas in Bargylia there was a priest,[4] and also a *loutrophoros* who was distinguished by the greatest and most eminent honors for her service.[5] A *canephoros* of similar rank[6] as well as a priest[7] served Artemis at Termessus.

The great *hieron* of Ma at Comana in Pontus[8] and the similar shrines at Zela[9] and Cappadocian Comana[10] show extreme development in the executive power of the priest. For example, at the shrine of Ma in Comana (Pontus), the priest, who was of the royal family, was next in honor after the king. He wore the regal garb and was the leader of six thousand or more *hierodules* who lived about the shrine.[11] Strabo

[1] Xen. *Anab.* V, 3, 6.

[2] *CIG*, II, 2778, 2782; *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XIX (1906), pp. 127 f., No. 54; pp. 147 f., No. 80.

[3] *CIG*, II, 2821–22.

[4] *BCH*, V (1881), p. 192 (referred to in P-W., II, 1389, ll. 23 f.).

[5] *BCH*, XIII (1889), pp. 37 f.

[6] *CIG*, III, 4362.

[7] *IGRR*, III, 451.

[8] Strabo XII, 3, 32 (557), 34 (558), 36 (559); 8, 9 (575).

[9] *Ibid.*, XII, 3, 37 (559–60).

[10] *Ibid.* XII, 2, (535); 3, 32 (557).

[11] *Ibid.* XII, 3, 32 (557), 34 (558), 36 (559).

casually remarks in another connection that the priest and the priestess lived in the *peribolos* of the shrine.[1] He does not mention a priestess in his account of the shrines of Zela and Cappadocian Comana. The priest in the cult of Aphrodite at Palaeopaphos was of the royal line[2] and frequently is mentioned in inscriptions,[3] while the existence of a priestess in the cult is only conjectural.[4] Thus the priest-king was a great lord whose realm was the shrine over which he ruled. The unsettled political conditions of Asia Minor which called forth such centers of theocratic government laid upon the priest-king great temporal authority, which insured his right to sacrifice to the goddess.

Table II at the end of the Appendix shows clearly that there was a predominance of priests in the goddess cults of Asia Minor. It also shows how Asiatic influence reacted upon the cults of Hellenic divinities in Asia Minor and how Greek influence affected the priesthood of the Anatolian divinities in Greece.

The frenzy which was so characteristic of Dionysiac worship explains a number of exceptions both in the cult of Dionysus and in other cults. This *Wahnsinn* was a characteristic feature of the incarnate man-god. The Greek priesthood tended to become formal and meaningless as the gods grew into types and finally into abstractions. But there was a time when spirit powers became epithets, epithets became gods, and gods grew into persons.[5] Worship too was in a plastic stage. The tree or pillar was the statue, and the *shaman* was one who possessed some divine power. So it was with the frenzied *Bacchae*, the inspired priestesses, and the *Galli*. In cults characterized by ecstatic worship it was most important to secure, not personal resemblance, but incarnate power.[6]

In the cult of the Corn-mother, the primitive fertility rites became more mimetic and less enthusiastic. In the cult of Dionysus, the idea of communion and ecstatic self-abandonment long remained. Probably the connection between Dionysiac worship and the vine gave an unusual amount of excitement to the original rites so that they developed into the rites of frenzy *par excellence* and spread as such through Greece.

[1] Strabo XII, 8, 9 (575).

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 24–31; Tac. *Hist.* II, 3; *SGDI*, I, 38–40.

[3] *JHS*, IX (1888), 251, No. 109; *SGDI*, I, 38–40.

[4] Cf. *JHS*, IX (1888), p. 241, No. 57.

[5] Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.*,[4] II, pp. 135 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], I, chap. iv; Harrison, *Proleg.*, chaps. vi, vii; O. Seeck, *Neue Jahrb. Klass. Alt. u. Päd.*, III (1899), pp. 411 f.; Schrader, *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.*, pp. 607–12.

[6] Soph. Antig. 963; Eurip. *Bacch.* 300 f.; Farnell, *op. cit.* V, 161 ff.; Rohde, *Psyche*[4], II, pp. 14 ff.

In this frenzied worship the devotees were not simply like the god. They were ἔνθεοι. They were the god, often with a liberal supply of the divine *afflatus*. They not only bore the narthex, but also they were *Bacchoi*.[1] They wore horns.[2] They brought forth milk and honey from rock and river.[3] That was probably the climax until man rose above the need for vegetation magic. The predominance of woman in the frenzied worship of Dionysus is proved by abundant evidence.[4] The early importance of women in vegetation magic is but a partial explanation. The real underlying cause was the adaptability of the feminine temperament to such emotional self-abandonment.

The βάκχαι were worshipers who stood in a very close relation to the god. Pausanias (or an early commentator on Pausanias) describes them well: "They say that these women are sacred and that they rave in honor of Dionysus."[5] Sometimes they were associated with a priest in acts of ritual, as at Orchomenus, where the priest pursued the Oleiae.[6] Considering that the cult of Dionysus was attended by female worshipers of so sacred and intense a nature, it is surprising that so few ἱέρειαι of Dionysus are mentioned. The occasional orgiastic rites had less power to shape the priesthood than the ordinary practices of temple-worship.

In the Delphic cult of Apollo, there were priests and a priestess or prophetess, the Pythia.[7] Like the Thyiad, she owed her position to the excitable temperament of womanhood. Whether the Delphic type of the priestess was formed under the influence of the earlier earth oracle,[8] or was borrowed from the worship of Dionysus,[9] or grew up independently from the same source as the Thyiad,[10] the reason for choosing her remains the same, the susceptibility of woman to emotional influence.[11] In order to insure that the Pythia had an open, yielding nature, custom declared that she must have been reared in the home of poor farmers and be untutored and inexperienced.[12] Her natural tendency toward excitement

[1] Plato *Phaedo* 69 C. [2] Lycoph. *Alex.* 1237 f.

[3] Eurip, *Bacch.* 143; Plato *Ion* 534 *A*.

[4] *Vide* Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 279–300; Rohde, *Psyche*[4], II, pp. 9 f.

[5] Paus. II, 7, 5, tr. Frazer. [6] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 38.

[7] Plut. *De Defect. Orac.* 51; *De E ap. Delph.* 5; Hdt. VIII, 37; Eurip. *Ion* 413 ff.

[8] Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la Divination*, III, pp. 43 ff., 93.

[9] Rohde, *Psyche*[4], II, pp. 52 ff.; *Neue Jahrb. Klass. Alt. u. Päd.*, III (1899), p. 406.

[10] Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 192.

[11] For a very different view *vide* Fehrle, *Kultische Keuschheit*, pp. 7 f.; cf., however, Oppe, *JHS*, XXIV (1904), pp. 215 ff.

[12] Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 22.

was increased also by the preparatory use of herbs which were intended to react upon her nervous system.[1] A draught from the sacred spring finally brought the divine power.[2]

There is one striking resemblance between the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and the Delphic cult of Apollo. There were priests of Apollo[3] just as there was a priestess of Demeter. The Pythia at Delphi and the hierophant at Eleusis were charged with special duties. The oracle and the great mysteries were extraordinary and could not entirely displace the regular form of worship presided over by ἱερεύς and ἱέρεια. So strong was the influence of the Delphic oracle upon the other Apolline cults that it is better to continue this discussion later under the subject of the influence of certain strong local cults.

In the emotional worship of the Great Mother, both men and women took part. The women raved much like the Thyiads of Dionysus[4] and representations of them have been found even in the Minoan palaces of Crete.[5] But in an enthusiastic worship and especially in that of a goddess, one would expect to find women. The frequency with which the *Gallus* appears both as a worshiper and as a priest must then be explained.

The *Gallus*, like the *Thyiad* and the prophetess, was seeking for communion with his divinity.[6] Besides giving himself up to frenzy,[7] he became Ἄττις[8] and Κύβηβος,[9] the male counterpart of the Great Mother. At times he became prophetic.[10] The repulsive practice of self-mutilation[11] was an effort of the *Gallus* to become like his mistress. Although a man, he used every means possible to conceal the fact and to become one with the great goddess.

The calmer forms of primitive religion explain some variations from the usual custom in regard to the priesthood. Once grant the premise of sympathetic magic that likeness signifies relationship and it becomes

[1] Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 6 (397 A); Lucian *Bis Accus.* 1.

[2] Paus. X, 24, 7; Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* V, 16.

[3] Plut. *De E ap. Delph.* 5; *De Defect. Orac.* 51; Hdt. VIII, 37; Eurip. *Ion* 413 ff.

[4] Eurip. *Bacch.* 55 f.; Athen. XIV, 636*a*; cf. Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, p. 237.

[5] *BSA*, IX, pp. 77 ff.; XI, pp. 247 f.; cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 297, note *a*).

[6] Lucian *Tragoed.* 30 ff. [7] Showerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 ff.

[8] Polyb. XXII, 18; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII (1897), p. 38, No. 22; Michel, 45, *B*, ll. 6, 18; *C*, l. 1; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάλλος.

[9] Phot. *s.v.* Κύβηβος.

[10] *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII (1893), p. 272; Serv. *Verg. Aen.* X, 220.

[11] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάλλος; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XXXV, 165 (46); Serv. *Verg. Aen.* IX, 115; cf. Roscher, *Lex.* II, 1, 1657 f.

clear that women, being the mothers of men, must be especially effective in rites intended to increase fertility. The frequency with which women conducted the rites of the Earth-mother has been observed,[1] but she was not the only divinity connected with the growth processes of nature.

In the Athenian cult of Dionysus there were fourteen old women (γεραραί),[2] who during the *Anthesteria* performed mystic rites in company with the *Basilinna*.[3] The story was told that at the reception of Orestes, the king of Attica had ordered the revelers to hand over the crowns which they wore to the priestess in Limnae,[4] probably referring to one of the old women. Certainly this cult was connected with old fertility-rites. The part which it played in the *Anthesteria*, the sacred marriage, and the Feast of Cups betrays the worship of a wine god who was also a god of vegetation, and the employment of women was probably a survival from the primitive days of vegetation magic. Perhaps the priestess of Dionysus Anthios (if the epithet is to be so restored) may be accounted for in the same way.[5]

The priestess of Apollo in Epirus fed the sacred snakes, and the prospects for the crops of the coming year were determined from the manner in which the serpents took their food from the priestess.[6] Farnell shows that there is reason to believe, from the connection with the serpent, that an ancient chthonian and mantic cult of Gaea or Demeter had been taken over by Apollo. The explanation of the priestess in this Apollo cult is then easy, for "the earth goddess is naturally ministered to by a woman."[7]

Sometimes there was a maiden priestess for the god's own enjoyment. Pausanias found that there was a virgin priestess for Heracles at Thespiae and thought it necessary to explain the reason. He relates two traditions neither of which leaves any doubt as to the purpose of the maiden priestess in the temple.[8] The priestess of Apollo at Patara slept in the temple at the season when the god was there.[9] Perhaps the priestess of Poseidon at Calauria[10] and at Thebes[11] and of Pan at Ephesus[12] were intended for the same purpose.[13] The light which anthropology has

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], I, p. 141; Farnell, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 106 ff.
[2] Pollux VIII, 108; Hesych. *s.v.* γεραραί.
[3] Demosth. 59, 74 ff.; Aristot. *Const.* 3.
[4] Athen. X, 437*c–d*.
[5] *IG*, II, 1, 631, ll. 9–10; cf. Paus. I, 31, 6.
[6] Aelian *De Nat. Anim.* XI, 2.
[7] Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 222 ff.
[8] Paus. IX, 27, 6 ff.
[9] Hdt. I, 182.
[10] Paus. II, 33, 2.
[11] *IG*, VII, 2465.
[12] Ach. Tat. VIII, 6, 14.
[13] Fehrle, *Die Kultische Keuschheit*, pp. 7 ff.

thrown upon the sacred marriage relieves the apparent grossness of such a custom.[1]

No doubt many variations from the custom "like god, like priest" were caused by the influence of stronger cults. A number of the cults of Demeter, especially in southern Greece had mysteries which the people declared were copies of the Eleusinian rites. It can hardly be accidental that most of these rites were directed by priests. Sometimes even the name hierophant was applied to the priest. At Celeae, according to Pausanias, there were mysteries of Demeter. The hierophant, to be sure, was appointed annually and might take a wife, but in other respects the mysteries were a direct imitation of the Eleusinian mysteries, as the Phliasians themselves admitted.[2] At Pheneus the people celebrated mysteries in honor of Demeter which they claimed were identical with those of Eleusis. They traced the origin of these back to Naos, a grandson of Eumolpus.[3] At Argos, where there was a hierophant, a story was told about the marriage of the priest of the mysteries with an Eleusinian wife, to whom were born two sons, Eubouleus and Triptolemus.[4] The story of the marriage probably reflects some former connection with Eleusis. As for Andania, it was related that Caucon brought the orgies of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis, and Lycus, the son of Pandion, raised them to higher honor in Messene.[5] An inscription from Lerna speaks of a Lernaean hierophant who was the son of an Eleusinian hierophant.[6] At Megalopolis, mysteries had been introduced which were an imitation of those at Eleusis.[7] The priest was called ἱεροφάντης.[8] The records in each case do not tell whether there was a priestess associated with the hierophant.

It is impossible to distinguish in these cases what was native and what was shaped under the influence of Eleusis. The cults of Demeter, as Table I shows, were very likely to be served by priestesses. Yet in these cults which claimed to be under the influence of Eleusis, there was a special form of the priesthood as at Eleusis. It is only a natural inference that this influence extended to the priesthood, lending it this characteristic form. There was probably a similar bond of connection among the cults of southeastern Sicily, viz., Syracuse,[9] Gela,[10] and Acrae.[11]

[1] *Vide* Frazer, *Golden Bough*[3], II, chap. xii; Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 34; V, pp. 217 ff.

[2] Paus. II, 14, 1.

[3] Paus. VIII, 15, 1.

[4] Paus. I, 14, 2.

[5] Paus. IV, 1, 5 ff.

[6] *IG*, III, 1, 718.

[7] Paus. VIII, 31, 7.

[8] *Eph. Arch.*, 1896, pp. 121 f., ll. 3, 18.

[9] Pind. *Ol.* 6, 158 and schol.

[10] Hdt. VII, 153–54; Diod. Sic. XI, 26.

[11] *CIG*, III, 5432.

A number of cults in Rhodes were under the influence of the great cult of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus at Lindus. In each of the cult titles, Athena was named first, usually with an epithet formed from the name of the city to which she belonged, while Zeus was in each case named Polieus. Just as there was a priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus at Lindus,[1] so there was a priest of Athena Ialysia Polias and Zeus Polieus at Ialysus,[2] of Athena Cameiras and Zeus Polieus at Camirus,[3] and of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus at Rhodes.[4] The priest of Athena Polias at Phaselis on the Lycian coast may have belonged to the same group.[5]

The influence of the Delphic prophetess as a type can be traced in much the same way as that of the Eleusinian hierophant.[6] Lucian certainly had a clear idea of the course of Delphic influence, although he probably made a slight mistake in ascribing a priestess to the shrine at Clarus. Zeus was complaining of the rush of oracular business which pressed upon the unfortunate Apollo, who must be first at Delphi, then off to Colophon, then to Xanthus, back to Clarus, then to Delos and Branchidae. In fact he had to run about at the call of each priestess who had had her taste of holy water, had chewed the laurel, and had sat upon the tripod.[7] Besides these oracles of Apollo, there was also one at Argos which was attended by an inspired prophetess, although in this case the intoxication came from tasting blood. Tradition said that the temple had originally been built by Pytheus, who came from Delphi.[8]

The cult of Aphrodite at Palaeopaphos[9] probably exerted an influence over the other cults of the Paphian goddess in Cyprus, where the same form of the priesthood reappears at Golgos,[10] at Lapethus,[11] and Neopaphos.[12] In Cos Athena Soteira, who was joined in the cult with Zeus Soter had an attendant of her own, a priest.[13] In the same way, within the Eleusinian cult, Pluto had a priestess.[14] Among the numerous priestesses of the great cult at Andania, there was one of Karneios.[15]

[1] *IG*, XII, 1, 786, l. 2; 809 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 5–6.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 6–7.
[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 61–62.
[5] *CIG*, III, 4332; cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth. u. Relig.*, p. 331.
[6] Bouché-Leclerq, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 232 ff., 249 ff., 328.
[7] Lucian *Bis Accus.* 1.
[8] Paus. II, 24, 1.
[9] *JHS*, IX (1888), p. 251, No. 109; *SGDI*, I, 38–40.
[10] *Rev. Arch.*, XXII (1870), pp. 370–72, Plate XXIII.
[11] *SGDI*, I, 1.
[12] *Ibid.*, 33.
[13] Paton-Hicks, p. 34, l. 45.
[14] *SIG*^{2}, 628, ll. 21–22.
[15] *SIG*^{2}, 653, l. 97.

Many priests remain who have not been mentioned in this chapter. It would be folly to try to account for every priest of a goddess and every priestess of a god, considering the present state of our knowledge of Greek cults. But it is hoped that this partial interpretation may add to the reasonableness of the principal hypothesis.

CHAPTER III

INTERPRETATION OF THE CUSTOM

Few indeed are the customs which can grow up isolated and solitary. The same creative imagination which fashioned each of its divinities as a thoroughly individualized person also brought forth a mode of worship equally full of variety. The priestess was one of the many outgrowths of that peculiarly Greek mode of thought which may be called dramatic, plastic, or individualistic. Just as Greek ritual has been subject to very different interpretations, so the priesthood assumes various aspects when viewed in the light of the matriarchal theory, the animistic interpretation of ritual, the hypothesis of early Egyptian influence, and the other standpoints from which men view antiquity as through a colored glass. But the priestess whom we know was Hellenic. She was a product of that mode of thought which was really Greek, and it is as unfair to interpret the priesthood solely from the standpoint of these un-Hellenic origins as to disregard their indubitable influence.

It has been shown by concrete examples that the priest was more likely to serve a god, while the priestess was usually attached to the cult of a goddess. While there were numerous exceptions to this rule, yet even these did not occur entirely by chance, as we have seen. Another argument for the existence of this custom remains, that from analogy. The purpose of this chapter is to show that in many other details of temple-worship there were evidences of the same sense of fitness which was embodied in the sex-distinction of the priesthood.

It is necessary to pass over the question of distinction in the sex of sacrificial victims, which Stengel has already discussed.[1] One illustration must suffice, an inscription which orders that the perquisites of the priestess should be from the female victims, those of the priest from the male.[2]

Many shrines were temporarily or permanently under strict limitation, some being entered only by worshipers of one sex, others being limited still further, so that only the priest or the priestess could enter. Hewitt, while showing that the cases of restricted access were mostly in the cults of chthonian or oriental divinities,[3] has barely touched upon

[1] Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, chap. xxv, especially p. 191.

[2] *IG*, II, 1, 610, ll. 6–7.

[3] *TAPA*, XL (1909), pp. 83–91.

the persistency with which the sex-distinction was observed. Wächter too is very sparing of conclusions upon this subject, because he writes with another point in mind.[1] The numerous cases cited by these scholars, however, show but few exceptions to the principle that when such restrictions were based upon differences of sex, the men were the ones admitted to the shrines of male divinities, while the women had readiest access to the precincts of goddesses. For example, at Megalopolis there was a shrine of the Maid which women were always allowed to enter, but men only once a year.[2] There was a temple of Demeter at Catana from which men were excluded,[3] and the precinct of Hippodamia at Olympia was open only to women.[4] On the other hand, the right of entrance was confined to men at least during certain periods at the shrine of Ares at Geronthrae,[5] of Poseidon at Myconos,[6] of Hermotimus at Clazomenae,[7] of Ennostus at Tanagra,[8] and of the Cabiri at Elatea.[9] At the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Sicyon there were two parts to the shrine, the one for men, the other for women.[10] Such sex-restrictions may not have been frequent, but when they did exist, they followed the same principle as the priesthood, *similia similibus*. Even the exceptions are significant, e.g., the temple of Dionysus at Bryseae was open only to women,[11] while that of Aphrodite Acraea at Paphos was closed to them.[12]

There were some festivals preferably conducted by women, others by men. The rites of women were most often attached to cults of Demeter,[13] thus preserving the tradition of the effectiveness of women in rites intended to increase the fertility of the fields. The *Thesmophoria* at Athens is the best known example,[14] but women also had charge of the *Haloa* in connection with the Eleusinian cult,[15] and there were women's

[1] Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im Griech. Kult.*, pp. 125–34.

[2] Paus. VIII, 31, 8.

[3] Cic. *In Verr.* IV, 45 (99); Lact. *Div. Inst.* II, 4, 275*A*.

[4] Paus. VI, 20, 7.

[5] Paus. III, 22, 7.

[6] Prott-Ziehen, *Leg. Sacr.* I, 4, l. 9.

[7] Apollon. Dysc. *Hist. Mir.* 3.

[8] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 40.

[9] Prott-Ziehen, *Leg. Sacr.* II, 79.

[10] Paus. II, 11, 3.

[11] Paus. III, 20, 3.

[12] Strabo XIV, 6, 3 (682); cf. Macrob. III, 8, 2; Serv. *Verg. Aen.* II, 632.

[13] Wächter, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–34; Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Farnell, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 45 f.

[14] Aristoph. *Thesm. passim;* Isaeus 8, 19; Schol. Lucian *Dial. Meretr.* II, 1, *s.v.* Θεσμόφοριοις.

[15] Schol. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* VII, 4; *Eph. Arch.* 1883, pp. 114, 119.

rites in honor of Demeter at Cyrene,[1] Thebes,[2] Ephesus,[3] Pellene,[4] Aegila,[5] Eretria,[6] and Miletus.[7] But other goddesses besides Demeter claimed the special service of women. Argive women washed the statue of Athena,[8] while Damia and Auxesia were appeased by choruses of women.[9] Artemis was honored by the bear-maidens[10] and the women of Colias celebrated a festival of Aphrodite.[11] On the other hand, the men of Geronthrae held a festival of Ares each year from which women were excluded.[12] There were some exceptions, of course. The women of Piraeus bewailed Adonis,[13] as usually women mourned the dead, the Elean matrons performed rites for Achilles,[14] and the men of Sicyon had a festival of their own in honor of Demeter separate from the women's rites.[15] A curious exception was the women's festival of Ares Γυναικοθοίνας at Tegea, at which the women gave the men none of the sacrificial flesh.[16] Of all the interpretations which have been offered, Farnell's seems to be the most reasonable: "Ares is emphatically the man's divinity . . . . and the *tapu* at Tegea cannot be explained on ordinary Hellenic principles. It must be regarded as an alien trait and is to be connected with the Amazonian tradition which was sporadic in Greece, and which always perplexes the ethnographer and the student of religion."[17]

No doubt the preference for women in fertility-rites accounts for the large number of festivals of Demeter which were in charge of the women of the community. Probably some of the other festivals of women are to be explained in the same way but the explanation is not sufficient for all. It does not account for the rites limited to men, nor for the restricted rites of goddesses who are not especially concerned with fertility. Therefore an interpretation must be made not simply from the standpoint of

[1] Aelian *Frag.* 44.
[2] Xen. *Hell.* V, 2, 29.
[3] Hdt. VI, 16.
[4] Paus. VII, 27, 10.
[5] Paus. IV, 17, 1.
[6] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 31.
[7] Parthen. 8, 1.
[8] Schol. Callim. *Lavacr. Pall.* 1, quoted in Farnell, *op. cit.*, I, p. 384, 5*a*.
[9] Hdt. V, 83.
[10] Schol. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 645; cf. Hesych. *s.v.* ἄρκτος and ἀρκτεία.
[11] Lucian *Amor.* 42.
[12] Paus. III, 22, 7; cf. Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, pp. 50, 188–89.
[13] Plut. *Vit. Alcib.* 18.
[14] Paus. VI, 23, 3.
[15] Paus. II, 11, 3.
[16] Paus. VIII, 48, 5.
[17] Farnell. *op. cit.*, V, p. 405.

sympathetic magic but from that of Hellenic ritual. All that was male was more pleasing to a god, and the female to a goddess.

Thus far worshipers in general have been considered. But often a sanctuary which was closed to all others was open to the priest or priestess as in the cult of Eileithyia at Hermione,[1] of Hera at Aegium,[2] of Sosipolis at Olympia,[3] of Athena at Tegea,[4] and of Artemis at Pellene.[5] This shows that the bond between the priest and the god was more intimate than that between the ordinary worshiper and the god. Therefore distinctions of sex, age, and condition were more likely to grow up among priests and priestesses. There were sometimes maiden priestesses for Artemis[6] and Athena,[7] Child-Zeus had a child-priest,[8] immature boys served Apollo at Thebes[9] and served Athena at Tegea[10] and Elatea.[11] Again, Heracles the Woman-hater was served in Phocis by a man who was compelled to remain absolutely continent during his entire term of service.[12] Ennodia had a priestess skilled in drugs.[13] Ardalus, priest of the Muses, was a musician,[14] and in fact any poet might be called their priest.[15] Phryne, the beautiful hetaira, was called a ministrant of Aphrodite.[16] A scholiast upon Euripides' *Phoenissae* remarks that "maidens pray to a maiden goddess, since they especially understand this goddess."[17]

Priestess and goddess stood in a very intimate relation when the priestess could be called by the divine name, as were the Leucippides in Laconia.[18] But this relation is shown even more clearly by the frequent confusion of priestess and goddess. This seems to have happened sometimes when the goddess of an earlier time was brought into connection with a later goddess by being made a priestess of the latter. Aglauros was a goddess,[19] but was also accounted a priestess of Athena.[20] So it was

[1] Paus. II, 35, 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, VII, 23, 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, VI, 20, 3.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII, 47, 5.
[5] *Ibid.*, VIII, 27, 3.
[6] Aegira, *ibid.*, VII, 26, 5; Orchomenus, *ibid.*, VIII, 5, 11; Sparta, *ibid.*, III, 18, 4.
[7] Tritia, *ibid.*, VII, 22, 8.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII, 24, 4.
[9] Paus. IX, 10, 4.
[10] Paus. VIII, 47, 3.
[11] Paus. X, 34, 8.
[12] Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 20.
[13] Polyaen, VIII, 43.
[14] Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conviv.* 4.
[15] Strabo X, 3, 10 (468); Theoc. 17, 115.
[16] Athen. XIII, 590*e*.
[17] 1060.
[18] Paus. III, 16, 1.
[19] *IG*, II, 3, 1369; Hdt. VIII, 53; Suidas *s.v.* Ἄγλαυρος.
[20] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἄγλαυρος.

with Iphigenia,[1] Io,[2] and probably Iodama.[3] Hera was sometimes represented as a begging priestess[4] and Demeter likened herself to Nicippe: "Straightway she took on the likeness of Nicippe, whom the state had established as her public priestess. In her hand were grasped fillets and poppies and she held upon her shoulder the key."[5]

But this general resemblance between the attendant and the divinity was sometimes supplemented by actual impersonation of the deity. The general course of Hellenic development toward the dramatic was reflected in temple-worship. While the worship of Dionysus may have been the direct source of Greek drama, the same mimetic element which was inherent in Dionysiac worship was also present in a calmer strain in other cults which were scattered far and wide over the Greek world.

This mimetic tendency usually showed itself in two forms, (1) in impersonation of the god by the priest, (2) in the performance of suggestive rites by bands or choruses. The first form is the one which especially should have a place in this discussion.[6] In most cases the ceremony performed by the priest as an impersonation of the god is lost to us, being hidden by the sanctity of the mysteries and the destructive work of time. But still the sacerdotal figure remains, with unmistakable traces of his part in imitative ritual. While this mimetic tendency may have come from primitive rites of sympathetic magic, yet the anthropomorphic and personal characteristics are so marked that they stamp these customs as distinctly the product of the Greeks whom history knows rather than of some distant period conjectured by anthropology.

Heliodorus' story of Chariclea takes first place in this review, not because it is of much value as an exact record of cult practice, but because it gives a detailed account of a case of sacerdotal impersonation. Chariclea, though but a ζάκορος, resembled her mistress Artemis in virginity, in beauty of form, and in love for the hunt. Upon the morning of the procession the beautiful maiden proceeded from the temple of Artemis, dressed in a purple robe which was embroidered with gold. In her left hand was a gilded bow, in her right a lighted torch.[7] She was wearing

[1] Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 34, 123 ff., 1114, 1399; Paus. VII, 26, 5; Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰφιγένεια; cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, II, p. 441.

[2] Aesch. *Suppl.* 291 f.; Suidas *s.v.* Ἰώ.

[3] Paus. IX, 34, 1–2; Etym. Mag. *s.v.* Ἰτωνίς.

[4] Plato *Repub.* II, 381*D*.

[5] Callim. *Hymn to Dem.* 42 ff.

[6] *Vide* Back, *De Graecorum Caerimoniis in quibus Homines Deorum vice fungebatur*, pp. 8 ff.

[7] Heliod. *Aethiop.* III, 4.

this costume when the Egyptians found her upon the desolate shore, and in amazement they questioned whether it was the goddess or the priestess.[1] The picture which Xenophon has left of Antheia, who led the Ephesian procession, is much the same.[2]

Again, at Pellene the priestess of Athena chanced, as the custom was, to be wearing full armor including a helmet. She, the fairest and tallest of the maidens, looked out upon the assembled host. Just then the Aetolians, who were coming up, saw her and thought she was Athena who had come that day to help Pellene.[3] The priestess of Artemis Laphria at Patrae rode in a chariot drawn by stags and probably represented the goddess herself.[4] The priestess of Athena Polias at Athens visited the homes of the newly-wed, wearing Athena's aegis.[5] At Andania provision was made for costumes for the sacred women who represented the divinities.[6] At Argos the priest of Apollo was ἀγητής, "leader of the host," like his master Apollo Ἀγητής.[7] In Cos the priest of Heracles was said to perform sacrifice, dressed in woman's clothing and with his hair bound up. This custom was supposed to reflect a time when the god himself had worn the dress of a woman.[8] The priest of Demeter at Pheneus put on a mask when he smote the Underground Ones with rods.[9] He imitated either a female ministrant or the goddess herself.[10] At Olympia the priestess of Demeter sat upon the altar to watch the games[11] probably embodying the divinity. The ram-bearing youth in the festival of Hermes at Tanagra[12] was a mimic Hermes Kriophoros. In the sacred marriage at Argos[13] and at Plataea[14] the goddess was represented by an image, but the priestess took the essentially feminine part of νυμφεύτρια, "maid of honor." Sometimes the traces of early magic were not entirely concealed. At Tegea the priestess of Artemis pursued a man, pretending that she was Artemis and he Limon.[15] So the priestess of Artemis Brauronia was a bear among the little bear-maidens.[16]

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 2.
[2] Xen. *Eph.* I, 2.
[3] Polyaen. VIII, 59; cf. Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 32.
[4] Paus. VII, 18, 12; cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, II, p. 431.
[5] Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroem. Gr.* I, pp. 339 f., 21, *not. crit.*
[6] *SIG*², 653, l. 24.
[7] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγητής.
[8] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 58.
[9] Paus. VIII, 15, 3.
[10] *Vide* Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, pp. 207 f.
[11] Paus. VI, 20, 9.
[12] Paus. IX, 22, 1.
[13] Palaeph. *De Iunone* (51).
[14] Paus. IX, 3, 6.
[15] *Ibid.*, VIII, 53, 3.
[16] Hesych. *s.v.* ἄρκτος and ἀρκτεία.

These few cases, chosen from a great number of illustrations, show the close connection which was felt to exist between the divinity and the priest. So near was the relationship that the mantle of the god's personality sometimes descended upon the priest. It was not sacrilegious for the priest to impersonate the god, because the bond between them was so intimate.

In conclusion, let us review briefly this whole discussion. The patriarchal lord, who ministered in person to the gods, male and female alike, developed into the magistrate who supervised the state worship and performed a few public sacrifices. But the feeling that a woman should serve a goddess lay not in the patriarchal system but in temple-worship. Far back even in very old cults there were priestesses to serve female divinities. This was not a hard-and-fast rule fixed by any single person or by an ecclesiastical body. It was simply an instinctive feeling, and was therefore subject to many variations. Back of this custom lay the idea, often revealed in Greek religion, that the divinity was best pleased with that which was most like itself.

APPENDIX

LIST OF PRIESTESSES AND PRIESTS

* Marks the cult of *σύμβωμοι θεοί*.

† Not included in the total because already counted.

[ ] Excluded because of poor evidence.

Athena

Priestess:

Acharnae, Athena Hippia, *IG*, II, 587; *vide* Paus. I, 31, 6.

Ancyra, Roscher, *Lex.* II, 2, 2893, ll. 53 ff.

Assos, Athena Polias, Sterrett, *Papers Am. School at Athens*, I (1883–84), No. 14, p. 33, 3.

Astypalaea, *IG*, XII, 3, 184.

Athens:

(1) Athena Polias. The names of at least twenty-eight priestesses are known, from the mythical Aglauros (Phot. *s.v.* Καλλυντήρια) down to the second century A.D. A partial list is given by Cooley, *AJA*, III (1899), 376 ff., and by Martha, *Les Sacerdoces Athéniens*, pp. 147 f.

(2) Athena Nike, *Eph. Arch.*, 1897, p. 177, *A*, l. 2, *B*, ll. 5, 10–11.

[(3) Athena Oenanthe, *IG*, III, 1, 353. Frag. inscr.]

Attalia, *BCH*, X, p. 159 (referred to in P-W, II, 1363, ll. 20 ff.

[Clazomenae, Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 13; cf. Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 19.]

Coronea, Athena Itonia, *IG*, VII, 3426; Paus. IX, 34, 2.

Cyzicus, Athena Polias, *Ath. Mitth.*, VI (1881), p. 55.

Daulis, *SGDI*, II, 1524.

Eretria, *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 36, No. 28.

[Erythrae, Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 19; cf. Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 13; *SIG*^{3}, 600, ll. 29, 31–32.]

Idalium, *SGDI*, I, 60, l. 20.

Ilium, Hom. *Il.* VI, 300; Bacchyl. *Dith.* 14, 1 ff.; Michel 525, ll. 20–21; Suidas *s.v.* Παλλάδιον.

Kalynören, Zeus, Hera, and Athena, Heberdey-Wilhelm, "Reisen in Kilikien," in *Denkschr. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien), 1896, p. 157, No. 264. There was probably also a priest here.

Nicomedia, *Ath. Mitth.* XII (1887), p. 173, No. 6.

[Paros, *IG*, XII, 5, 1029. Frag. inscr.]

Pedasus, Hdt. I, 175; VIII, 104; Strabo XIII, 1, 59 (611); cf. Aristot. *De Anim. Hist.* 518*a*, l. 35.

Pellene, Polyaen. VIII, 59; cf. Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 32.

Pergamum:

(1) Athena Polias, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXII (1907), p. 361, No. 116; Michel 1310; *CIG*, II, 3553.

(2) Athena Nikephoros, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXII (1907), p. 361, No. 116; Michel 517, 1310; *CIG*, II, 3553.

Perge, *CIG*, III, 4342*b*.

Soli, Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 3.

Tritia, Paus. VII, 22, 8–9.

Priest:

*Aegaeae (Cilicia), *IGRR*, III, 925.

Ambararassi (Lycaonia), *Aberdeen Univ. Stud.*, XX, p. 164, No. 24. While the name of the divinity is conjectural, the sex is known from the article used. There is no possibility of confusion in counting this priest, as no other cult of Ambararassi has been included in this enumeration.

[Arcesine, Athena Itonia, *IG*, XII, 7, 25. For identification of the divinity, *vide IG*, XII, 7, 35, ll. 9–11; 33, l. 9. Frag. inscr.]

Argos, Callim. *Lavacr. Pall.* 37. The priest was assisted by maidens, however.

Athens:

[(1) Athena Polias. The priestess of Athena Polias at Athens appears in inscriptions of every period, while there is no good evidence whatever for a priest at the head of the cult. The statement of Apollodorus (III, 196) that Butes, at the death of his father, inherited the priesthood of Athena, means no more than that Butes was the great ancestor of the Eteobutadae, who held the priesthood of Athena (*IG*, II, 3, 1386): Phot. *s.v.* Ἐτεοβυτάδαι; Harpocr. *s.v.* σκίρον). Again, Plutarch says that at the advance of the Persians, the Priests (οἱ ἱερεῖς) found untouched the offering which they had set out for the sacred snake (*Vit. Them.* 10). Οἱ ἱερεῖς is used here in a general sense and may refer to the priest of Poseidon and Erechtheus and the priestess of Athena, or may refer to the subordinate attendants who might be expected to feed the snake. Cf. Athen. XIV, 655*c*.]

*(2) Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, *IG*, II, 1, 305, ll. 11–13; 325–26; cf. *IG*, II, 5, 184*b*, l. 18.

*(3) Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia, *IG*, III, 1, 272; 683.

*(4) Nike, *IG*, III, 1, 695, Roman period.

Camirus, Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, *IG*, XII, 1, 705, ll. 16 ff.; 786, ll. 6–7.

Cos:

(1) Athena probably Soteira, Paton-Hicks, 34, l. 45; cf. *ibid.*, p. 62, for note on name of the goddess.

(2) Athena Polias, *ibid.*, 125; 37; 40*b*, ll. 4–5.

Delos:

* (1) Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia, *BCH*, XXXII (1908), p. 438, ll. 10–11; *Rev. Arch.*, XXVI (1873), p. 110, No. 5; p. 111, No. 15; p. 113, No. 22.

* (2) Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, *BCH*, XXVI (1902), p. 521, ll. 1–2, XXXII (1908), p. 438, ll. 12–13; cf. *BCH*, XXVI (1902), p. 519, ll. 1–3.

* (3) Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias, *BCH*, XXXII (1908), p. 438, ll. 1, 12, 14; cf. *BCH*, XXVI (1902), p. 519, ll. 1–3.

Elatea, Athena Kranaia, *IG*, IX, 1, 139; Paus. X, 34, 7–8.

Erythrae:

* (1) Zeus Phemios and Athena Phemia, *SIG*², 600, ll. 26 ff.

* (2) Zeus Apotropaios and Athena Apotropaia, *SIG*², 600, ll. 68 ff., 115 ff.

(3) Athena Nike, *SIG*², 600, ll. 29 ff.

(4) Athena ———, *SIG*², 600, ll. 31 ff.

Heraclea, *Rev. d. Philol.*, XXIII (1899), p. 281, No. 2*B*.

Ialysus, Athena Ialysia Polias and Zeus Polieus, *IG*, XII, 1, 786, ll. 5–6.

[Ilium, Dionys. Hal. VI, 69, 1. When this writer traced back the ancestry of the Roman Nautii to Nautius, a companion of Aeneas and a priest of Athena Polias, it is probable that he was simply repeating a flattering genealogy. There is excellent evidence for a priestess in the cult early and late.]

Lindus, Athena Lindia and Zeus Polius, *IG*, XII, 1, 761, ll. 48–49; 768; 786, l. 2; 809–818; 820–32.

Magarsus (Cilicia), Athena Magarsia, Heberdey-Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 9, No. 21.

Miletus, Athena Soteira, *Sitzb. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1905, p. 547.

Phaselis, Athena Polias, *CIG*, III, 4332, ll. 7–10.

Priene, *Ath. Mitth.*, V (1880), p. 339, No. 10*A*.

Rhodes, Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, *IG*, XII, 1, 61–62; Michel 1187.

Sparta, Athena Chalkioikos and Athena Poliouchos, *Eph. Arch.* (1892), p. 24, No. 6, ll. 13–16; cf. Paus. III, 17, 2.

Tegea:

(1) Athena Alea, *BCH*, XIII (1889), p. 281, l. 1; XVII (1893), p. 21; Michel 189, 191; Paus. VIII, 47, 3. There is some evidence for a priestess in the cult, but it is very meager and untrustworthy as compared with that for a priest, Alcidamas, I, 185 (Bekker, *Or. Att.* V, p. 670, l. 11); *Ath. Mitth.*, IV (1879), p. 137. As a priest is mentioned in a fifth-century inscription, and as the priest was eponymous in several later inscriptions, it is likely that he was at the head of the cult.

(2) Athena Poliatis, Paus. VIII, 47, 5.

Thera, Athena Polias, *IG*, XII, 3, 495.

Thuria, Michel, 612.

HERA

Priestess:

Aegium, Paus. VII, 23, 9.

Andeda, *BSA*, XVI, p. 122, No. 16.

Antimachia, *BCH*, XVII (1893), pp. 208 f., No. 10, ll. 7–8.

Aphrodisias, *CIG*, II, 2820, l. 4.

Argos, Thuc. II, 2; IV, 133; Müller, *FHG*, I, pp. 51–52, *Fragg.* 44–53; IV, pp. 633–35; Aesch. *Suppl.* 291 f.; Polyb. XII, 11, 1; Paus. II, 17, 3, 7; Plut. *Frag.* 10; *CIG*, III, 5984*G*, 6126*B*, l. 16; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, pp. 141 ff.; *Harvard Studies*, XII, opp. p. 335. To this list of references many less important ones might be added.

Astypalaea, *IG*, XII, 3, 196.

Athens, *IG*, II, 1, 631, ll. 11–12; Plut. *Frag.* 9, 2.

[Corcyra, Riemann, "Recherches Archéologiques sur les Iles Ioniennes, in *Bibl. Écol. Fran. d'Ath. et Rome*, 1879), I, p. 47, No. 22; *vide ibid.*, p. 44. Bracketed because there is some doubt as to the divinity served.]

Cyrene, *CIG*, III, 5143.

Delos, *BCH*, XIV (1890), p. 398, ll. 3–4; XXIX (1905), p. 449, ll. 21 f.

† Kalynören, Zeus, Athena, and Hera, Heberdey-Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 157, No. 264.

Larisa, Julia Hera Sebaste, *IG*, IX, 2, 333.

Messene, Paus. IV, 12, 6.

Metropolis (Phrygia), Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 2, 2086, refers to Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς, 2, pp. 90, 100.

Olbasa, Zeus Kapitolios and Hera Kapitolia, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, p. 309, No. 122.

Pergamum, Hera Basilea and Zeus Megistos, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXIII (1908), p. 402, No. 28.

Pogla, Hera Basilis, *CIG*, III, 4367 f.

Samos, Athen. XV, 672*a–d*; cf. *SGDI*, III, 2, 5702, l. 22 and note.

Theira (Ionia), *BCH*, XVIII (1894), p. 540.

Thera, Hera Dromaia, *IG*, XII, 3, 513.

Priest:

† Aegaeae, Zeus, Hera, and Athena, *IGRR*, III, 925.

* Aegiale, Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon, *IG*, XII, 7, 438.

[Amathus, *BCH*, XX (1896), p. 351 ff. Bracketed because the name of the divinity is only conjectural.]

Argos, Hdt. VI, 81. Herodotus recounts that when Cleomenes wished to sacrifice upon the altar of Hera, the priest forbade him. In view of the mass of evidence for a priestess at the head of the cult, it is likely that the word ἱερεύς was used here instead of νεωκόρος, κλειδοῦχος, or some other subordinate of the sacred precincts.]

Cos, Hera Argeia Heleia Basileia, Paton-Hicks, 38, ll. 5–7.

Erythrae, Hera Teleia, *SIG*², 600, ll. 127 ff., 133 ff.

* Gortyn, Zeus Olympios and Hera Olympia, *SGDI*, III, 2, 5145.

* Mylasa, Zeus Strateios and Hera, *Ath. Mitth.* XV (1890), p. 268, ll. 5–6.

* Pontoreia (Rhodes), Zeus and Hera, *IG*, XII, 1, 786, ll. 10 f.

Priest and Priestess:

Lebadea, Zeus Basileus and Hera Basilis, *IG*, VII, 3096–97.

Panamara, Zeus Panamaros and Hera, *BCH*, XII (1888), p. 253 ff.; XXVIII (1904), pp. 20 ff., 354 ff.; *CIG*, II, 2719, ll. 13–14; *vide* Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, pp. 28 ff.

DEMETER AND KORE

Priestess:

Aegila, *SIG*², 653, l. 31; Paus. IV, 17, 1.

Antimachia, Paton-Hicks, 386.

Arcesine, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XVI (1903), p. 166.

Athens:

(1) Demeter Chloe, *BCH*, XIII (1889), p. 167, No. 4; cf. *IG*. II, 1, 631, l. 16; III, 1, 349. For a general reference to a priest, *vide* Paus. I, 22, 3.

(2) Demeter Thesmophoros, Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* VII, 4 and Schol.; Timon 17.

Carthaea, *IG*, XII, 5, 1088–89.

Catana, Cic. *In Verr.* IV, 45 (99).

Cnidus, *SGDI*, III, 1, 3522; Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 85.

Corinth, Diod. Sic. XVI, 66; Plut. *Vit. Timol.* 8.

Coronea, Demeter Thesmophoros, *IG*, VII, 2876.

Cumae, Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 262*d*.

Cyrene, Demeter Thesmophoros, Aelian *Frag.* 44.

Cyzicus, *Ath. Mitth.* VII (1882), p. 156, ll. 13 f.

Delos:

(1) Demeter, *BCH*, XXXIV (1909), opp. p. 172, l. 23.

(2) Kore, *ibid.*

Dotium, Callim, *Hymn. to Dem.* 42 ff.

Elaiussa-Sebaste (Cilicia), Heberdey-Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 56, No. 128.

Erythrae, Demeter Thesmophoros, Farnell, *op. cit.*, III, p. 330, No. 97 quotes from *BCH*, IV, p. 157, No. 160, to which the writer did not have access.

Hermione, Demeter Chthonia, *IG*, IV, 743; Paus. II, 35, 7–8; Aelian, *De Anim.* XI, 4.

Larisa:

(1) Demeter Phylaka and Dionysus Karpios, *IG*, IX, 2, 573.

(2) Demeter, Kore, and Despotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1910, p. 377, No. 24.

[Mt. Lycaeus, Demeter ἐφ' ἱπποδρόμῳ, *SIG*², 653, l. 31. Location of the cult not certain.]

Mylasa, *BCH*, XXII (1898), p. 391, No. 36.

Olympia, Demeter Chamyne, *Arch. Ztg.* XXXVI (1878), p. 94, No. 149; XXXVII (1879), pp. 138 f., No. 274; p. 210, No. 330; Paus. VI, 20, 9.

Palaeopaphos, *CIG*, II, 2637.

Panticapaeum, *SGDI*, III, 2, 5562.

Patara, *JHS*, VI (1886), p. 354, No. 113.

Pergamum, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXV (1909), p. 475, No. 62.

Pherae, Demeter Megalartos, *IG*, IX, 2, 418.

Phigalia, Demeter Melaina, Paus. VIII, 42, 12.

Piraeus, Demeter Thesmophoros, *IG*, II, 1, 573*b* (pp. 421 f.).

Priene, *SGDI*, III, 2, 5584.

Samurlu (Lydia), Mise Kore, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXV (1909), p. 444.

Smyrna, Demeter Thesmophoros, *CIG*, II, 3211.

Syllium (Pamphylia), *IGRR*, III, 801–2.

Syros, *IG*, XII, 5, 655, l. 5 f.

Tegea, Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 370, *s.v.* "Tegea," gives an inscription from LeBas-Foucart, *Mégaride et Pélop.*, No. 337*i*.

Thasos, Paus. X, 28, 3.

Thebes, IG, VII, 2676.

Thespias, Demeter Achaia, *IG*, VII, 1867; (Demeter), *ibid.*, 2148.

Tralles, *CIG*, II, 2937.

Priest:

Acrae, Kalligeneia, *CIG*, III, 5432.

Aghlan (Phrygia), Demeter and Sabazios, Sterrett, *Papers Am. School at Athens*, II, pp. 37 f., No. 37.

Ancyra (Galatia), *CIG*, III, 4026.

Argos, *IG*, IV, 606 (hierophant); Paus. I, 14, 2.

Athena:

[(1) Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe, Paus. I, 22, 3. Bracketed because the evidence for a priestess in the cult is good, while the word "priests" is used here in a general sense.]

[(2) Demeter Ompnaea, *IG*, III, 1, 26. Bracketed because the name of the divinity is conjectural.]

(3) Demeter and Pherephatta, *IG*, III, 1, 293.

(4) The god and the goddess, *IG*, III, 1, 1108–9; *Eph. Arch.*, 1900, p. 79, l. 35; (the god, the goddess, and Eubouleus) *IG*, II, 3, 1620*c* (p. 352); cf. *IG.*, I, Suppl. p. 3*C*, ll. 40–41.

Baindir (Lydia), *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, V (1892), p. 341.

Celeae, Paus. II, 14, 1 (hierophant).

Cos, Paton-Hicks, 37 (p. 82), ll. 60–62; cf. *ibid.*, 56; *Arch. Anz.*, XVI (1901), pp. 135 f.

Cyzicus, Kore Soteira, *Ath. Mitth.*, VI (1881), p. 130, No. 15; *BCH*, XIV (1890), p. 537.

Erythrae:

(1) Demeter and Kore, *SIG*², 600, ll. 71 f.

(2) Kore Soteira, *ibid.*, ll. 82 f.

(3) Demeter ἐγ Κολωναῖς *ibid.*, ll. 47 f., 63 f.

(4) Demeter and Kore Pythochrestos, *ibid.*, ll. 89 f.

Gela, Hdt. VII, 153–54 (hierophant); cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6, 158 and Schol.

Lerna, *IG*, III, 1, 718 (hierophant); *Anthol. Gr.* II, p. 241, No. 688 (Jacobs); cf. *IG*, III, 1, 172.

Megalopolis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1896, pp. 121 f., l. 18 (hierophant); cf. *BSA*, XII, pp. 128 ff.; Paus. VIII, 31, 7.

Pheneus, Demeter Kidaria, Paus. VIII, 15, 3.

Sparta:

(1) Demeter and Kore, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, p. 24, No. 6, ll. 13, 20–21.

(2) Demeter ἐν Δικτύννῃ, *ibid.*, ll. 13, 25–26.

Syracuse, Pind. *Ol.* 6, 158 ff. and Schol.

Tomi, Pluto, Demeter, and Kore, *IGRR*, I, 603.

Tralles, Pluto and Kore, Strabo XIV, 1, 44 (649).

Priest and Priestess:

Andania, *SIG*², 653, ll. 5, 7, 28 ff., 82, 88, 96 f.; cf. Paus. IV, 2, 6.

Eleusis. There were both priests and priestesses in this cult, although it is not easy to determine the exact number and position of each (Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*, p. 159, § 94). Foucart (*Les Grands Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 1–99) has discussed the *personnel* of the Eleusinian cult in detail. A catalogue of the Roman period names a score of ministrants of both sexes and of various ranks (*Eph. Arch.*, 1900, pp. 79–80). Only those of first rank should be considered here. Of these, the *dadouchos* and the *hieroceryx* may be disregarded because they were ministrants with special duties, as signified by the name of each. The hierophant stood at the head of the cult (Foucart, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25). Closely associated with him were the two hierophantids (*Eph. Arch.*, 1897, p. 55, No. 32; 1900, p. 79, l. 35; *BCH*, XIX (1895), p. 113*a*; Foucart, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–66) and the priestess of Demeter and Kore (*Eph. Arch.*, 1897, pp. 52 ff., Nos. 23–31; *BCH*, XIII (1889), p. 435, ll. 57 f.; XIX (1895), p. 113; *SIG*², 628, l. 15; Demosth. 59, 116–17.)

Ephesus: (Priest) Strabo XIV, 1, 3; (633) *SGDI*, III, 2, 5605; Farnell, *op. cit.*, III, p. 336 *s.v.* "Ephesus." (Priestess) *SIG*², 655, ll. 4–8; P-W, IV, 2745, l. 5 ff. It is impossible to tell whether these scanty references deal with one or with several cults of Demeter.

Epidaurus: (Hierophant) *Eph. Arch.*, 1883, p. 25, No. 1; p. 147, No. 37; cf. *ibid.*, 1884, p. 21, No. 62. (Priestess) Diod. Sic. XXXII, 11, 4; cf. Cavvadias, *Les Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 114.

Iconium, Tetrakore and Dionysus, Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 406.

Kaldjik (Phrygia), Sterrett, *Papers Am. School at Athens*, II, p. 113, No. 81.

Lycosura, Despoina: (Priest) *Eph. Arch.* 1896, p. 111, No. 8; p. 114, No. 11; p. 128, No. 16; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* IV (1891), p. 316. (Priestess) *Eph. Arch.*, 896, p. 101, No. 3; p. 110, No. 7. (Priest and priestess) *Eph. Arch.*, 1896, pp. 107–8.

Mantinea, Michel 992, ll. 7–8, 13, 23, 42; 993, ll. 4 ff.

Sparta, Kore and Temenios in Helos, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, p. 20, No. 2, ll. 11, 16–17; *ibid.*, p. 25, No. 8, ll. 5–6.

ARTEMIS

Priestess:

Actium, Ἡ θεός ἐν Κελκάιῳ, *BCH*, XV (1891), p. 663.

Aegira, Paus. VII, 26, 5.

Agiaz Buren (Lydia), Artemis Anaitis, Roscher, *Lex.*, II, 2, p. 2867.

Ancyra (Galatia), *ibid.*, p. 2893.

Anticyra, Artemis Dictynna, *IG*, IX, 1, 5.

[Aperlae, *CIG*, III, 4300 t. Frag. inscr.]

Aphrodisias, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XIX, p. 117, No. 38.

[Apodote, *IG*, IX, 1, 421 (θεοκολήσασα).]

Apollonia (Pisidia), *BCH*, XVII (1893), pp. 256 f., No. 36.

Athens:

(1) Artemis Brauronia, Dinarch. 2, 12 (Bekker. *Or. Att.* III, p. 181); cf. *IG*, II, 2, 778*A*, l. 5.

(2) Leto and Artemis, *IG*, III, 1, 376.

Attalia, Artemis Asylos, P-W, II, 1363, ll. 20 ff.

Aulis, *IG*, VII, 565.

Berhoea, Artemis Agrotera, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XV (1902), p. 142, ll. 9–10.

Brauron, Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1462 f.; Demosth. 54, 25. Hesych. *s.v.* ἄρκτος may refer to the cult in Brauron or to that in Athens.

Carystus, Artemis and Apollo, *AJA*, VIII (1893), p. 268.

Castabala, Artemis Perasia, Strabo XII, 2, 7 (537); Iambl. *De Myst.* 3, 4.

Chaeronea, *IG*, VII, 3430.

Cyrene, *IGRR*, I, 1037; cf. Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 873.

Cyzicus, Artemis Munychia, Michel 537, 538, ll. 13–14.

Dokzat (Macedonia), Artemis Gazoria, *BCH*, XXII (1898), p. 346.

Halicarnassus, Artemis Pergaia, *CIG*, II, 2656.

Iolcus, *IG*, IX, 2, 1122; Apoll. Rhod. I, 312.

Isinda (Pisidia), *JHS*, XV (1895), p. 125, No. 19.

Kalyvia (Attica) *IG*, II, 5, 1205*b*.

Lemnos, Galen XII, 169.

[Leros, *CIG*, II, 2261*b*. Original provenance uncertain; cf. *Class. Rev.*, VIII (1894), p. 376.]

Massilia, Artemis Ephesia, Strabo IV, 1, 4 (179).

Megara:

(1) Artemis Soteira, *IG*, VII, 112; cf. *ibid.*, 109.

(2) Artemis Orthosia, *ibid.*, 113.

Metropolis (Phrygia), Artemis Tauropolos, *JHS*, IV (1883), p. 64, No. 6.

Miletus:

(1) Artemis Boulaia, *Sitzb. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1901, p. 911, l. 9. Farnell. *op. cit.*, II, p. 381, No. 81*b*.

(2) Artemis Pythia, Farnell, *loc. cit.; CIG*, II, 2879, 2885–86; *Rev. d. Philol.*, XXIII (1899), p. 315, No. 32; p. 318, No. 34; p. 319, No. 36; XXVI (1902), p. 133, B, ll. 10 f.

Mylasa, Artemis Kyria, P-W, II, 1391, ll. 23 ff.

[Oresthasium, Artemis Priestess, Paus. VIII, 44, 2. Bracketed because there is doubt as to the exact meaning of the epithet of the goddess.]

Panamara, *BCH*, XII (1888), p. 267, ll. 31–32.

Patmos, Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.*, p. 872.

Patrae:

(1) Artemis Triclaria, Paus. VII, 19, 1.

(2) Artemis Laphria, Paus. VII, 18, 12.

Phacium, Enodia, *BCH*, XV (1891), p. 412, No. 25.

Piribeyli (Galatia), *JHS*, XIX (1899), p. 306, No. 246.

Rhodes, Artemis Pergaia, *IG*, XII, 1, 66; *Eph. Arch.*, 1911, p. 55, No. 23.

Sardis, Artemis Sardiana, *CIG*, II, 3459.

Sparta:

(1) Artemis Orthia (Orthosia), *CIG*, I, 1444, ll. 3–6; 1465; Paus. III, 16, 10; Schol. Plato, *Leg.* 633 B.

(2) Artemis Knagia, Paus. III, 18, 4.

[Tauroi, Eurip. *Iph. Taur.*, 34, 65 f., 1114, 1399; Aristot. *Poet.* 1455*b*, ll. 5 ff.; Diod. Sic. IV, 44, 7; *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1862, pp. 116 ff.]

Tegea, Paus. VIII, 53, 3; *Ath. Mitth.*, IV (1879), p. 137.

[Thebes, Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.*, 869 (πρόπολος).]

Thera, *IG*, XII, 3, 494.

Thyatira, *CIG*, II, 3507–8.

Tralles, P-W, II, 1411, ll. 3 f.

[Zacynthus, Artemis Opitais, *IG*, IX, 1, 600 (θεοκολήσασαν).]

Priest:

[Alorium, Artemis Heleia, Strabo VIII, 3, 25 (350). Bracketed because the phraseology is too general.]

Athens:

(1) Artemis Kalliste, *IG*, II, 5, 618*b*, l. 13; *Eph. Arch.*, 1905, p. 217, l. 9; p. 239, l. 44; cf. Hesych. *s.v.* Καλλίστη.

(2) Artemis Soteira, *IG*, II, 5, 630*b*, l. 24; cf. Klio, VII (1907), p. 213.

[(3) The Charites and Artemis (Hecate) Epipyrgidia, *IG*, III, 1, 268. Priest with special function, ἱερεὺς πυρφόρος.]

[(4) *Eph. Arch.*, 1856, p. 1382, No. 2761; cf. *IG*, III, 1, 1304. Frag. inscr.]

Attalia, Artemis Elaphebolos, *IGRR*, III, 780.

* Camirus, Apollo Erethimios and Artemis, *IG*, XII, 1, 786, l. 8; cf. *ibid.*, 732.

Chersonesos, Parthenos, *Sitzb. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1895, p. 514, No. 3; cf. *ibid.*, p. 516, No. 6.

Cnidus, Artemis Hyacinthotrophos Epiphanis, *SGDI*, III, l. 3502.

[Cynortium, Artemis and Apollo, *CIG*, I, 1173 (ἱεροπολήσας).]

Delos, Artemis ἐν νήσῳ, *IG*, II, 2, 985, p. 434*D*, l. 7; *E*, l. 5; p. 436, l. 47; p. 437, l. 30; *BCH*, XXXII (1908), p. 438, ll. 7, 16–17.

[Duman (Phrygia), Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, p. 232, No. 77. Name of the divinity uncertain.]

* Erythrae, Apollo Kaukaseus and Artemis Kaukasis, *SIG*², 600, ll. 19 ff.

Haliartus, *IG*, VII, 2850.

* Hyampolis, Apollo and Artemis, *IG*, IX, 1, 87, l. 18.

Iasus, Artemis Astias, *JHS*, IX, (1889), p. 339.

[Leros, Athen. XIV, 655*c*. Meaning of ἱερεῖς uncertain.]

Limnae, Artemis Limnatis, *SGDI*, III, 2, 4670*b*.

Lindos, Artemis Kekoia, *IG*, XII, 1, 736, l. 3, 814, 818–20, 824–26, 828, 831, 834.

Mylasa:

(1) Tauropolos, *CIG*, II, 2699.

* (2) Apollo and Artemis, *ibid.*, 2694*b*, l. 2.

Myrrhinus, Artemis Kolainis, *IG*, III, 1, 275.

Mytilene, Artemis Thermaia, *IG*, XII, 2, 239, 242, 246–51; cf. *Hermes* VII (1873), p. 408, ll. 14 f., p. 411.

Olymus, *BCH*, XXII (1898), p. 401, l. 4.

Opus, Artemis Ennodia, *IG*, IX, 1, 281.

Pellene, Artemis Soteira, Paus. VII, 27, 3.

Philadelphia, *CIG*, II, 3422, ll. 1–2.

[Pholegandrus, Artemis Selasphoros, *IG*, XII, 3, 1057, 5*a*. Probably a forged inscription.]

Piraeus, Artemis Munychia, Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroem. Gr.*, I, p. 402, 54 and note.

Saghir (Pisidia), *Aberdeen Univ. Stud.*, XX, p. 345, No. 24.

[Scillus, Artemis Ephesia, Xen. *Anab.* V, 3, 9. While Xenophon sacrificed to the goddess at stated occasions in this shrine, he was not necessarily a priest, according to this passage.]

Selge, *IGRR*, III, 378.

[Thebes, Schol. Aesch. *Seven against Thebes*, 437. The scholiast probably gives his inference from a suggestion of the poet's rather than what he knew as fact. Cf. Tucker, Aesch. *Seven against Thebes*, pp. 90–91, note.]

Priest and priestess:

Bargylia, Artemis Kindyas: (Loutrophoros) *BCH*, XIII (1889), p. 38, No. 5. (Priest) P-W, II, 1389, ll. 23 f.

Ephesus: (Priestess) *CIG*, II, 2982, 2986, 3001–3; Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus, Inscr. from the Augusteum.*, Nos. 6–7; *Inscr. from the Great Theatre*, p. 21; Sterrett, *Papers Am. School at Athens*, II, p. 330, No. 384; Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 172; Plut. *An seni Respub.* 24; *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 27, 48; Aelian, *Frag.* 50. (Megabyzos) *Hermes* VII (1873), p. 29, No. 1; Xen. *Anab.* V, 3, 6; Diog. Laert, II, 6, 7 (51); Strabo XIV, 1, 23 (641); Appian *Bella Civ.* V, 9; Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 173. (Essenes) *SGDI*, III, 2, 5593; Paus. VIII, 13, 1. (All) Michel 490, ll. 6–7.

[Lycosura, *Eph. Arch.*, 1896, pp. 107 f., No. 6. It is uncertain whether this is simply a dedication to Despoina and Artemis by the priest and the priestess of the former or these ministrants actually served both divinities.]

Magnesia *ad Maeandrum*, Artemis Leucophryene, *CIG*, II, 2914; *SIG*², 553, ll. 15–16, 22, 32–33.

Messene, Artemis Limnatis, *SGDI*, III, 2, 4649, 4656; cf. *Ath. Mitth.*, XVI (1891), pp. 351 f.

Orchomenus, Artemis Hymnia, Paus. VIII, 5, 11–12; 13, 1, 5.

Perge, Artemis Pergaia, *IGRR*, 796–7; Hesych. *s.v.* ἄγον, ἀγός.

Sidyma, Artemis and Apollo, *IGRR*, III, 583–84; P-W, II, 1352, ll. 49 ff.

Sparta, Artemis Patriotis in Pleiae, *CIG*, I, 1444; *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, pp. 23 f., No. 6.

Termessus: (Kanephoros) *CIG*, III, 4362. (Priest) *IGRR*, III, 451; cf. *ibid.*, 424; *JHS*, XV (1895), p. 27.

APHRODITE

Priestess:

Athens, Aphrodite Pandemos, *IG*, II, 5, 314*c*, ll. 1, 17; 1531*b*.

Demetrias, Aphrodite Neleia, *IG*, IX, 2, 1125.

Idalium, *Rev. Arch.*, VI (1885), p. 358, § 3.

[Larisa, Aphrodite Pandemos, *IG*, IX, 2, 572. Frag. inscr.]

[Megalopolis, Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 1044 (Ἱροπόλος).]

Phalara, *IG*, IX, 2, 1359 on p. vii.

Piraeus:

(1) Aphrodite, *IG*, III, 1, 1280*a*, *b*), l. 37.

(2) *Dea Syria*, *IG*, II, 1, 627; III, 1, 1280*a*, *b*), l. 40.

Segesta, Aphrodite Ourania, *IG*, XIV, 287.

Sestus, Musaeus, *Hero and Leander*, ll. 31, 68, 141.

Sicyon, Paus. II, 10, 4. Pausanias makes a note of the fact that the official priestess was here called *loutrophoros*.

Smyrna, Aphrodite Ourania, *CIG*, II, 3157.

Sparta, Aphrodite Enoplios, *CIG*, I, 1444, ll. 3, 9.

Priest:

Alopece, *CIG*, I, 395.

Astypalaea, Atargatis, *IG*, XII, 3, 178.

Athens:

(1) Aphrodite and the Charites, *IG*, II, 5, 1161*b*.

[(2) *CIG*, I, 508. Frag. inscr.]

Buthrotum, *CIG*, II, 1823.

Camirus, *IG*, XII, 1, 705, ll. 16, 25.

Cnossus, Ares and Aphrodite, *BCH*, XXXIV (1910), p. 331, ll. 14–15.

Delos, Aphrodite Hagne, *IG*, II, 2, 985, p. 434*D*, l. 12; *E*. p. 436, ll. 8, 55; p. 437, l. 2; *BCH*, XXXI (1907), p. 335, No. 1; cf. *Klio*, VII (1907), pp. 219–21.

Erythrae:

(1) Aphrodite Pandemos, *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 57 ff.

(2) Aphrodite in Embatos, *ibid.*, ll. 39 ff.

(3) Aphrodite Pythochrestos, *ibid.*, ll. 4 ff., 74 f., 150 ff.

Golgus, *Rev. Arch.*, XXII (1870), pp. 370–72, Plate XXIII.

Lapethus, Aphrodite Paphia, *SGDI*, I, 1.

Lindus, *IG*, XII, 1, 786, ll. 2–4.

Mylasa:

(1) Aphrodite Strateia, *CIG*, II, 2693 f., l. 7.

(2) Aphrodite Syria, *Ath. Mitth.*, XV (1890), p. 259, No. 12.

(3) Aphrodite Euploia, *ibid.*, p. 261, No. 15, ll. 15–16.

(4) Aphrodite Pandemos, *BCH*, XII (1888), p. 32, No. 12.

Neopaphos, *SGDI*, I, 33.

Palaeopaphos, *SGDI*, I, 38–40; *JHS*, IX (1889), p. 251, No. 109; Pind. Pyth. 2, 31.

Philippopolis, Dea Syria, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* XV (1902), p. 32.

Sparta, Aphrodite Ourania, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, p. 24, No. 6, ll. 13, 22–23.

Syracuse, Dea Syria, *IG*, XIV, 9.

Theangela, *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.* XI (1908), p. 63, ll. 4–5.

Priest and priestess:

Aphrodisias: (Anthephoros) *CIG*, II, 2821–22. (Priest) *CIG*, II, 2778, 2782, ll. 15–16; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* XIX, p. 128, No. 54; p. 148, No. 80, ll. 6, 11–15, 18.

Larisa, Ἁγνὴ θεά, Keil-Premerstein, "Ber. über eine Reise in Lydien u. süd. Aiolis," pp. 92–93, No. 199, in *Denkschr. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien), 1910.

Mother of the Gods

Priestess:

Cyzicus, Mother Plakiane, Michel 537, ll. 11 f.; 538, l. 13.

Edessa (Macedonia), *Ath. Mitth.*, XVIII (1893), p. 416, No. 1*c*.

Magnesia *ad Maeandrum*, Plut. *Vit. Them.* 30; Strabo XIV, 1, 40.

Mamurt-Kaleh (Mysia), Conze-Schazmann, *Ergänz. Jahrb. Arch. Inst.*, IX, pp. 6 f.

[Minoa, *IG*, XII, 7, 237, ll. 20–28, 64. It is uncertain to what divinity this priestess belonged.]

Nicaea (Bithynia), Cybele and Apollo, *Rev. Arch.*, XII (1865), p. 216. For correction in location, *vide* Roscher, *Lex.*, II, 2, 2855, ll. 32 ff.

Olbia, *JHS*, XXII (1902), p. 266.

Orchomenus, *IG*, VII, 3216; cf. *Eph. Arch.*, 1896, pp. 39 f., No. 27*b*.

Panticapaeum, Phrygian Mother, *JHS*, XXII (1902), p. 266.

Pergamum, Meter Basileia, Roscher, *Lex.*, II, 2, 2852, ll. 41 ff.

[Smyrna, *CIG*, II, 3193. Mutilated inscription.]

Thyatira, *CIG*, II, 3508.

Tomi, *Rev. Arch.*, XXVIII (1874), p. 17, No. 4.

Priest:

Argos, *IG*, IV, 659, l. 5.

Athens, *IG*, III, 1, 1062, ll. 9–10; *Eph. Arch.*, 1910, p. 17, No. 2.

Attuda, Mother Adrastos, Roscher, *Lex.*, II, 2, 2849, ll. 10 ff.

Carthaea, *BCH*, XXIX (1905), p. 358, No. 14.

Comana (Cappadocia), Strabo XII, 2, 3 (535), 3, 32 (557); *Jour. of Philol.*, XI (1882), p. 147, No. 5. There may have been a priestess associated with the priest as at Comana in Pontus, as there was a general resemblance between the two shrines, *ibid.*, 3, 32 (557).

Cos, Rhea, Paton-Hicks, 38, ll. 3–4.

[Epidaurus, Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, No. 64. Diogenes, the priest mentioned in this inscription, is so well known as a priest of Asclepius that it seems most reasonable that this is a dedication to the Great Mother by the priest of Asclepius.]

Erythrae, *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 83 ff.

Gordium, G. Körte–A. Körte, *Ergänz. Jahrb. Arch. Inst.*, V, pp. 213 f.

Omer Keui (Phrygia), Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, p. 246, No. 88.

Proconnesus, *JHS*, XXVI (1906), pp. 29 ff.

[Saghir (Pisidia), Sterrett, *Papers Am. School at Athens*, III, p. 265, No. 380 (*archigallus*). Frag. inscr.]

Sardes, *JHS*, XXIX (1909), p. 155, No. 4.

Savatra (Galatia), *JHS*, XIX (1899), p. 280, No. 163 (*archigallus*).

Zela, Anaitis, Strabo XII, 3, 37 (559).

Priest and priestess:

Comana (Pontus), Strabo XII, 3, 32 (537), 34 (559); 8, 9 (575).

Pessinus (priest), Strabo XII, 5, 3; Polyb. XXII, 18, 5; Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 17; Diod. Sic. XXXVI, 13; *Ath. Mitth.*, XXII (1897), pp. 38 f., Nos. 22, 23, ll. 5 ff.; Michel 45; (priestess) Julian 389*A* (*ep.* 21).

Piraeus, *IG*, II, 1, 614, ll. 16, 21 ff., 29 ff.; III, 1, 94; *Ann. dell'Inst.*, XXXIV (1862), p. 27, No. 3; pp. 30 ff., Nos. 8–9.

Groups of Goddesses

AZESIAN GODDESSES

Priest: * Epidaurus, Apollo Maleates and the Azesian Goddesses, Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 46, No. 51.

CHARITES

Priest:

Athens:

(1) Demos and Charites, *IG*, III, 1, 661; *Eph. Arch.*, 1859, p. 2065, No. 4098, l. 6; (Demos, the Charites and Rome) *IG*, III, 1, 265.

† (2) Aphrodite and the Charites, *IG*, II, 5, 1161*b*.

† (3) The Charites and Artemis (Hecate) Epipyrgidia, *IG*, III, 1, 268; cf. Paus. II, 30, 2.

Naxos, *IG*, XII, 5, 55.

Orchomenus, *IG*, VII, 3207.

[Paros, *CIG*, II, 2325. Provenance uncertain.]

EUMENIDES

Priestess: Cerynea, Paus. VII, 25, 7.

Priest and priestess: [Athens, Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 489; Hesych. *s.v.* λῆτειραι. From these poor sources it is impossible to be sure of either the sex or the rank of the Hesychidae, who served the Eumenides here.]

MOIRAE

Priestess:

Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1900, pp. 79 f., l. 27.

Sparta, Moirae Lacheses, *CIG*, I, 1444, ll. 3, 8.

MUSES

Priestess: Paros, *IG*, XII, 5, 291.

Priest:

Athens, *IG*, III, 1, 286.

Termessus, *IGRR*, III, 424.

Thera, *IG*, XII, 3, 330, ll. 57–59.

Thespiae, *IG*, VIII, 1760, ll. 2–4; Michel 891, 1012, ll. 2–3.

Troezen, Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conviv.* 4; cf. Paus. II, 31, 4–5.

NEREIDS

Priest: * Erythrae, Achilles, Thetis and the Nereids, *SIG*^{3}, 600, ll. 51 f., 76 f.

NYMPHS

Priestess:

Antiphellus, *BCH*, XVIII (1894), p. 323, No. 1, l. 6.

Bargylia, *BCH*, XIII (1889), p. 39, l. 5.

[Patara, *BCH*, XVIII (1894), p. 330, No. 22. Frag. inscr.]

Priest: Apollonia, *Ath. Mitth.*, IV (1879), p. 233.

PERSONIFIED ABSTRACT IDEAS

ADRASTEIA

Priest: Cos, Nemesis and Adrasteia, Paton-Hicks, 29, l. 10.

AIDOS

Priestess: Athens, *IG*, III, 1, 367.

ARETE

Priest: Pergamum, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXII (1907), p. 312.

DIKAIOSYNE

Priest: Olymus, *BCH*, XXII (1898), p. 394, No. 42, l. 5.

EIRENE

Priestess: [Athens, Michel 673, l. 6. Frag. inscr.]
Priest: Erythrae, *SIG*², 600, ll. 140 f.

ELEUTHERIA

Priest: Aphrodisias, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XIX (1906), p. 127, No. 54.

ENYO

Priest:

* Athens, Ares Enyalios, Enyo and Zeus Geleon, *IG*, III, 1, 2, l. 5.
Erythrae, Enyo and Enyalios, *SIG*², 600, ll. 34 ff.

EUCLEIA

Priest: Athens, Eucleia and Eunomia, *IG*, III, 1, 277, 623, ll. 13–14, 733, 738.

EUNOMIA

Priest: † Athens, *ibid.*

HOMONOIA

Priestess: Chaeronea, *IG*, VII, 3426, ll. 1, 5–6.
Priest: Perge, *IGRR*, III, 796.
Priest and priestess: Dorylaeum, *IGRR*, IV, 522, l. 11.

HYGIEIA

Priestess: [Cos, Asclepius, Hygieia, Epione, *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII (1903), p. 10; cf. Paton-Hicks, 30 (fragmentary). This case has been bracketed because there was probably also a priest of Asclepius and Hygieia, just as there was certainly a priest of Apollo Dalios, as well as a priestess (Paton-Hicks 125; *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII [1903], p. 10). From lack of direct evidence upon this point, however, this case has been excluded both as a priestess of Hygieia and as a priestess of Asclepius.]

Priest:

* Athens, Asclepius and Hygieia, *IG*, II, 1, 489*b*, l. 9; III, l. 102*a*, 102*b*; cf. *Ath. Mitth.*, X (1885), pp. 256 f.

* Gythium, Asclepius and Hygieia, *CIG*, I, 1392.

* Haleis, Asclepius and Hygieia, Paton-Hicks, 345, ll. 14–16.
* Melos, Asclepius and Hygieia, *IG*, XII, 3, 1085.
* Piraeus, Asclepius and Hygieia, *IG*, II, 3, 1504.
* Rhodiopolis, Asclepius and Hygieia, *IGRR*, III, 732–33.
* Stratonicea, Asclepius and Hygieia, *BCH*, XII (1888), p. 87, No. 11, l. 9.
Synnada, Hygieia and Sophrosyne, *BCH*, XVII (1893), p. 284, No. 86.
* Asclepius and Hygieia, *Musée Belge*, XI (1907), pp. 15 f., No. 30, ll. 7–9, 16, 32–34, 42; VIII (1904), pp. 89 f., No. 21, ll. 12–16.

MASSILIA

Priest: Phocaea, *CIG*, 3413.

NEMESIS

Priestess: Mylasa, *Class. Rev.*, III (1899), p. 137, No. 9.
Priest:
Athens, Ourania Nemesis, *IG*, III, 1, 289.
Corycus, The Nemeses, *JHS*, XII (1891), pp. 256 f., No. 28, ll. 17–18.
† Cos, Nemesis and Adrasteia, Paton-Hicks, 29, l. 10.
[Imbros, *IG*, XII, 8, 79. Frag. inscr.]

NIKE

Aphrodisias, *CIG*, II, 2810, ll. 2–3.
Athens, Olympia Nike, *IG*, III, 1, 245.
Attalia, Nike Sebaste, *IGRR*, III, 778.

PEITHO

Priest: Mylasa, *Class. Rev.*, III (1899), p. 137, No. 9.

RHODOS

Priest:
[Amorgos, *IG*, XII, 7, 493. Frag. inscr.]
[Minoa, *ibid.*, 245. Frag. inscr.]
Naxos, Michel 872, ll. 8–9, 15–16, 22.

SOPHROSYNE

Priest: † Synnada, Hygieia and Sophrosyne, *BCH*, XVII (1893), p. 284, No. 86.

THEMIS

Priest: Athens, *IG*, III, 1, 329.

TYCHE

Priestess:
Athens, *SIG*^{2}, 397.
Kalynören, Heberdey-Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 159, No. 265.
[Thyatira, Keil-Premerstein, "Ber. über eine Zweite Reise in Lydien," *Denkschr. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien), 1911, pp. 25 f., No. 48. Frag. inscr.]
[Trapezopolis, *CIG*, III, 3953*d*. Frag. inscr.]

Priests:

Erythrae, Agathe Tyche, *SIG*², 600, l. 88.

* Mylasa, Zeus Hypsistos and Tyche Agathe, *CIG*, II, 2693*e*, l. 2.

* Pogla, Zeus Egainetos and Tyche, *IGRR*, 407.

Rhodes, *IG*, XII, 1, 67.

Sparta:

(1) *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, pp. 23 f., No. 6, ll. 13, 18.

(2) *Ibid.*, ll. 13, 23.

Troezen, Tyche Sebaste, *IG*, IV, 799.

Priest and priestess:

Palaeopaphos, *JHS*, IX (1888), p. 237, No. 40.

Selge, *IGRR*, 382, 383.

MISCELLANEOUS GODDESSES

AGLAUROS

Priestess: Athens, *IG*, II, 3, 1369.

ALCMENE

Priestess: Aexone, Hebe and Alcmene, *IG*, II, 1, 581, ll. 24–25.

AMPHITRITE

Priest:

* Syros, Poseidon and Amphitrite, *IG*, XII, 5, 672.

* Tenos, Poseidon and Amphitrite, *IG*, XII, 5, 925; cf. *ibid.*, 948.

APHAEA

Priest: Aegina, *Arch. Anz.*, XVI (1901), p. 129.

BELELA

Priest and priestess: Piraeus, *IG*, III, 1, 1280*a*, *a*), ll. 10–12, *b*), ll. 1 ff.

BENDIS

Priest and priestess: Piraeus, Prott-Ziehen, *Leg. Sacr.* 11, No. 42, l. 21; cf. *ibid.*, 41, l. 8. Name of the divinity conjectural.

DIONE

* *Priest:* Termessus, Zeus and Dione, *CIG*, III, 4366*m*.

Priest and priestess: Dodona, Hom. *Il.* XVI, 234 f.; Hdt. II, 55; Soph. *Trach.* 172, 1166 f.; Strabo, VII, 7, 10–12 (328–29), fragg. 1–2; IX, 2, 4 (402); Paus. X, 12, 10; *BCH*, XIV (1890), pp. 159–61; *vide* Jebb, *Trach.*, Append., pp. 201 ff.

EILEITHYIA

Priestess:

Athens, *IG*, II, 3, 1586, 1590; III, 1, 926.

Delphi, *BCH*, XXIII (1899), pp. 386, 388.

Hermione, Paus. II, 35, 11.

Olympia, Paus. VI, 20, 2.

Paros, *IG*, XII, 5, 186, l. 4.

Priest: Tenos, *IG*, XII, 5, 944.

EPIONE

Priestess: Cos, Paton-Hicks, 30, l. 10; *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII (1903), p. 10.
Priest: Haleis, Asclepius, Hygieia, and Epione, Paton-Hicks, 345, ll. 14–16.

ETEPHILE

Priest: Mytilene, *IG*, XII, 2, 222, 255, 263.

GE

Priestess:
Aegira, Paus. VII, 25, 13; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XXVIII, 147.
Athens, Ge Themis, *IG*, III, 1, 350.

HEBE

Priestess: † Aexone, Hebe and Alcmene, *IG*, II, 1, 581.
Priest:
Amasia, Farnell, *op. cit.*, III, p. 310.
Angora, Zeus, Ge, and Helios, *BCH*, XXV (1901), p. 336, No. 31. Frag. inscr.]
Erythrae, *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 55 ff.

HECATE

Priest and priestess:
Lagina, *BCH*, XXVIII (1904), p. 24, No. 3, pp. 261 f., No. 87, ll. 17 f., p. 258, No. 81; XII (1888), p. 83, No. 9, pp. 85 f., No. 10, ll. 12–15, p. 87 f., No. 11, l. 5.

HESTIA

Priestess: Athens, *IG*, III, 1, 316, 322, 365.
Priest:
Erythrae:
(1) Hestia Temenia, *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 9 f., ll. 59 f.
(2) Hestia Boulaia, *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 65 f.
Stratonicea, *BCH*, XII (1888), pp. 87 f., No. 11, l. 9.

KARISSA

Priestess: † Mytilene, Etephile and Karissa, *IG*, XII, 2, 255.

LETO

Priestess: † Athens, Leto and Artemis, *IG*, III, 1, 376.
Priest:
[Eleusis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1897, p. 65, No. 49. Frag. inscr.]
Perge, *IGRR*, III, 780.
Priest and priestess: Apollo Dalios and Leto, Paton-Hicks, 125; *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII (1903), p. 10.

LEUCIPPIDES

Priest and Priestess: Sparta, Paus. III, 16, 1; *BSA*, XII, 356*c*).

LEUCOTHEA

Priest: Massilia, *IG*, XIV, 2433.

ORAIA

Priestess: Piraeus, *IG*, III, 1, 1280*a*, *b*), l. 32.

PNISTIA

Priestess: Mytilene, *IG*, XII, 2, 136.

SELENE

Priest: * Gythium, Zeus Boulaios, Helios, and Selene, *CIG*, I, 1392.

THETIS

Priest: † Erythrae, Achilles, Thetis, and the Nereids, *SIG*^{2}, 600, ll. 51 f., 75 f.

Although there were numerous cults of Isis in Greece, she was not often identified with a native divinity. Isis was foreign and remained foreign. One might, at first glance, attribute the large number of priests in the worship to its foreign origin. But on the other hand, the cult was not that of Isis, but of Serapis and Isis, with Anubis and Harpocrates joined to the greater pair. The priest at the head of the cult was frequently called the priest of Serapis,[1] often the priest of Serapis and Isis,[2] and occasionally, the priest of Isis.[3] Sometimes there was a priestess also in the cult, who was usually called the priestess of Isis.[4] But priestesses in the strict sense of the word ἱέρεια were rare. The cult is omitted here because of its foreign character and because both the god and the goddess were so prominent in the cult.

In considering the cults of male divinities, it is not necessary to enumerate their priests since it is easier to find a score of priests than one priestess who served a god. The following meager list shows that public sentiment was certainly in favor of priests for gods.

APOLLO

Priestess:

[Amyclae, *CIG*, I, 51, 53–55. Fourmont's forged inscription. Pausanias (III, 16, 2) speaks only of certain women who wove a tunic for Apollo.]

Andania, *SIG*^{2}, 653, l. 97.

Argos:

(1) Apollo Diradiotes, Paus. II, 24, 1 (prophetess).

(2) Apollo Lykeios, Plut. *Vit. Pyrrh.* 31 (prophetess).

[Colophon, Lucian *Bis Accus.* 1 (792). Lucian, who thought that there was a prophetess at this shrine, was probably misled by a false analogy,

[1] E.g. (Delos) *IG*, II, 2, 985, p. 434*D*, l. 11, *E*, l. 7; p. 436, l. 57; p. 437, l. 47; (Orchomenus) *IG*, VII, 3220; (Demetrias) *IG*, IX, 2, 1133.

[2] E.g. (Mylasa) Michel 475, ll. 1–2; (Hyampolis) *IG*, IX, 1, 86, ll. 6–7; (Anaphe) Michel 413, ll. 5–7.

[3] E.g. (Samos) *SIG*^{3}, 666; (Halicarnassus) *BCH*, XIV (1890), p. 111, No. 12.

[4] E.g. (Thespiae) *IG*, VII, 1869; (Sinope) *CIG*, III, 4157; (Chaeronea) *IG*, VII, 3426.

as he was speaking at the same time of several oracles of Apollo at which there really were prophetesses. Cf. Buresch, *Klaros*, pp. 36 f. There is good evidence for a priest and a prophet in the cult, *BCH*, XVIII (1894), p. 216, No. 3, *a*), ll. 3–4, *b*), ll. 5, 9–10; Tac. *Ann.* II, 54; Iambl. *De Myst.* 3, 11.]

Delos, *CIG*, II, 2308*c*; Iambl. *De Myst.* 3, 11; Lucian *Bis Accus.* 1. *Vide* Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination*, III, pp. 13–38.

* Nicaea (Bithynia), Cybele and Apollo, *Rev. Arch.*, XII (1865), pp. 215 f., *B*.

Priest and priestess:

Argos, *CIG*, I, 1152.

Chalcedon, *CIG*, II, 3794, l. 3; 3796 (prophet and prophetess).

Cos, Apollo Dalios, *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII, (1903), p. 10; Paton-Hicks, 125.

Delphi. For full list of references, *vide* Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 39–207; Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 381 ff.

Miletus, *Rev. d. Philol.*, XXIII (1899), p. 314, No. 31; p. 315, No. 32; Iambl. *De Myst.*, 3, 11; Lucian *Bis Accus.*, 1; cf. Buresch, *Klaros*, p. 36 (prophetess, prophet, and priest).

Patara, *JHS*, X (1889), p. 76, No. 28, l. 4; Hdt. I, 182; Lucian *loc. cit.;* Aelian *De Nat. Anim.* XII, 1; cf. Fehrle, *Die Kultische Keuschheit*, p. 8.

Sparta:

(1) Karneios Boiketas, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, p. 25, No. 8; pp. 19 f., No. 2.

(2) Karneios Dromaios, *ibid.; vide* Wide, *Lakon. Kulte*, pp. 84 ff.

Dionysus

Priestess:

Andros, *IG*, XII, 5, 726.

Athens:

(1) Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, Demosth. 59, 73 ff.; Athen. X, 437*d*; Harpocr. and Hesych. *s.v.* γεραραί; cf. Plut. *Frag.* 9, 2.

(2) Dionysus Anthios (?), *IG*, II, 1, 631, ll. 9–10.

Brysea, Paus. III, 20, 3; cf. *CIG*, I, 1466.

Cos, Paton-Hicks, 27.

* Larisa, Demeter Phylaka and Dionysus Karpios, *IG*, IX, 2, 573.

Semachidae, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σημαχιδαι.

Priest and priestess:

Miletus, *Sitzb. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1905, p. 547; Wiegand, *Sechster Vorläuf. Ber.* in *Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1908, pp. 22 f.

Minoa, *IG*, XII, 7, 248.

Satrae, Hdt. VII, 111 (prophetess and prophets).

Teos, *CIG*, II, 3062, 3072, 3092.

Thera, *IG*, XII, 3, 420, 468 (γεραιρά and priest).

ZEUS

Priestess:

[Arycanda, Zeus Perpendubrios, *CIG*, III, 4316*b*. Frag. inscr.]

Kalynören, Zeus, Hera, and Athena, Heberdey-Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 157, No. 264.

Megiste, Zeus Megisteus and Agathos Daimon, *SGDI*, III, 1, 4333.

Olbasa, Zeus Kapitolios and Hera Kapitolia, Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, 309, No. 122.

* Pergamum, Hera Basilea and Zeus Megistos, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXIII (1908), p. 402, No. 28.

Priest and priestess:

Cillanian Plain (Phrygia), Zeus Sabazios, *ibid.*, I, p. 310, No. 127. Frag. inscr.

Panamara, Zeus Panamaros and Hera, *BCH*, XII (1888), p. 100, No. 18; p. 101, No. 21; p. 250, No. 24; p. 253, No. 32; pp. 254 f., No. 35; XV (1891), pp. 182 ff., Nos. 124 ff.; XXVIII (1904), pp. 20 ff., Nos. 1 ff.; pp. 238 ff., nos. 42 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS GODS

Priestess:

Ares, Selge (Pisidia), *IGRR*, III, 383.

Asclepius:

(1) [Cos, *Arch. Anz.* XVIII (1903), p. 10; *vide s.v. Hygieia.*]

(2) Pergamum, *IGRR*, IV, 508.

(3) Sparta, Asclepius Schoenatas in Helos, *CIG*, I, 1444.

* Despotes, Larisa, Demeter, Kore, and Despotes, *Eph. Arch.* (1910), p. 377, No. 24.

Helios, Athens, *IG*, III, 1, 313; cf. Harpocr. *s.v.* Σκίρον.

Heracles, Thespiae, Paus. IX, 27, 6.

Pan:

(1) Ephesus, Ach. Tat. VIII, 6, 14.

(2) Lycosura, Paus. VIII, 37, 11 (prophetess); *vide* Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, II, p. 385.

Pluto: Eleusis, *SIG*^{2}, 628, l. 21.

Poseidon:

(1) Calauria, Paus. II, 33, 2; cf. Paus. X, 5, 6.

(2) Thebes, *IG*, VII, 2465.

Sosipolis, Olympia, Paus. VI, 20, 2–3.

Priest and priestess:

Corybantes (male and female), Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Nordion. Steine," in *Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Berlin), 1909, pp. 32 ff.

Dioscuri, Sparta, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, pp. 23 f., No. 6; *CIG*, I, 1444.
Heracles, Sparta, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, pp. 19 f., No. 2; p. 25, No. 8.
Poseidon, *Eph. Arch.*, pp. 25 f., No. 8; *CIG*, I, 1374.
Temenios, Sparta, Kore and Temenios in Helos, *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, pp. 19 f., No. 2; p. 25, No. 8.

TABLE I

Goddesses	Priestesses		Priests			
	Number	Excluded Poor Evidence	Number	Excluded Poor Evidence	Number Excluding	Number Erythraean
Athena	22	4	29	3	20	2
Hera	18	1	6	2	2	1
Demeter	40	1	23	2	23	4
Artemis	45	7	24	9	20	0
Aphrodite	11	2	23	1	23	3
Mother of the Gods	11	2	13	2	13	1
Groups	6	1	10	1	9	1
Personifications	5	4	34	3	23	2
Miscellaneous	13	0	15	2	11	3
Total	171	22	177	25	144	17

TABLE II

	Greece		Asia Minor		Total	
	Priestess	Priest	Priestess	Priest	Priestess	Priest
Aphrodite and Magna Mater	10 48%	11 52%	12 32%	25 68%	22 38%	36 64%
Athena, Hera, Demeter, Artemis	68 65%	36 35%	57 55%	47 45%	125 60%	83 40%